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A NEW SAINT TERESA

MOST of us know something about the great Spanish saint and mystic, St. Teresa, the 'undaunted daughter of desires' of Crashaw's great poem, and the reformer of the religious Order of Mount Carmel; a woman to whom, with St. John of the Cross and other Spanish mystics and St. Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit Order, we owe in large degree the repulse of Protestantism in central Europe, where as yet it has never recovered from the great Catholic reaction of which Teresa was one of the moving spirits. And there are few who have studied Teresa, whether in her life or in her spiritual writings, or in her successful work as an organizer of monastic institutions, who have not found much to admire in her. Such critics as Matthew Arnold on the one hand, with no predilection for the visionary or the miracle-worker, and Dr. Whyte, of Edinburgh, with no *a priori* preference for Roman piety, are agreed in admiring the combination of sanity and sanctity which is disclosed by many of her words and works. Nor is there any sign that Teresa is going to recede in public estimation, however much we realize the awful price that Spain paid for becoming reactionary in religion, or that England is likely to pay if it pursues, even in more

moderate fashion, the same search for what is living amongst what is long dead.

But it is not about Teresa the Great that I am wishful now to write, but of a modern Teresa belonging to the same religious Order, whose recent death has been accompanied by an enthusiastic demand for her beatification, and in due course for her canonization; concerning whom they are recording miracles done in her life and multitudinous miracles done after her death, either by her relics, or by the simple reading of her life as written by herself, of which the copy before me affirms that the circulation has already reached 90,000. The preface says 140,000 in French and a translation into seven other languages! Who was this new St. Teresa, *Thérèse* (as she was called in the conventual life) *of the Child Jesus and of the Holy Face*? How did she become a saint, and why does she work miracles, miracles that are being reported from almost every corner of the earth? That is the question which I am going to try to answer. I will not, however, begin with the miracles: it may be doubted whether they are the easy way of sympathetic approach to any religion, unless it be the religion of the gospel; and miracles in France (for it is to the north of France that the new *Thérèse* belonged) are especially under suspicion at the present time, because there is a campaign of ecclesiastical lying going on in France, under the names of St. Anthony of Padua and others, whose main object is to save Roman Catholicism from its impending downfall by an extra dose of miracle injected into the circulation of the Church. But it is not the first question, what miracles the new *Thérèse* is working or not working; nor are we concerned in the first instance with the grounds upon which her beatification is demanded. We shall come to that point later; the Roman Church has a standing committee on beatification, which has for its duty to report whether people have died in the odour of sanctity, and whether, after their deaths, mighty works do show forth themselves in them; and when

beatification has been decreed, the more difficult question of canonization comes forward, which has to be argued by the advocates of the proposed saint and the advocate of the opposed devil, until the Pope decides that the case has been made out, that the three necessary miracles (or whatever the number is) were really performed, and that everything is in order for the promotion of the person from the ranks of the *beati* to those of the *sancti*. We may say something about Thérèse's approaching beatification presently. Meanwhile, let us talk about herself; for when a young woman dies, in 1897, at the age of twenty-four, and her written life runs to a circulation of at least 90,000 before the year 1911, something must have happened in the region of personality, or French people would not be reading the book with such enthusiasm. And the case is even more remarkable when we state that the saint in question is a cloister-saint, engaged in an austere life within doors, doing no obvious service to humanity, and yet, at the same time, acquiring almost at once a spiritual position comparable with that of those saints who, to use a biblical phrase, seem to be pillars. I have been interested, therefore, to see what kind of a person this little Thérèse really was, and to read her life, as well as some of her letters and her poetry.

Thérèse was one of a large family in the town of Alençon, of which we may say at once that they were antecedently predisposed to a monastic life. Her father had sought admission to the monastery on the Great St. Bernard, and had been refused on account of his small Latin. Her mother had been equally disappointed in an attempt to enter the Order of the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, being told point-blank by the prioress that it was not the will of God. And in due time the two would-be monastics fell in love with one another, and decided to begin a celibate life together, under the shelter of Christian marriage. In a few months they changed their plans, became the parents of a large family, whom they successively devoted to God, and

of whom all that lived eventually found their way within convent walls. Thérèse was the youngest of the group; her real name being Marie-Françoise-Thérèse, to intimate that she was under the special care of the Virgin, St. Francis, and her Spanish namesake. Her birthday was January 2, 1873. She was, of course, precociously religious; like her great namesake, she early determined that she was meant for a religious life, and ran the risk of being spoiled at the very start. What are we to think of little girls who regard themselves as being potentially or actually the brides of Christ, and use language, unbecoming in its familiarity, of the relation of the soul to the Saviour? But it is just at the very beginning that we find in Thérèse something more than pious sentiment expressed in connubial language. First of all, she was extraordinarily naïve; she tried to see things and to say things just as they were. She managed to get clear away from the affectation of humility, which makes some, even of good Christians, so displeasing, and to arrange for herself the terms in which she described her own spiritual condition, so as to avoid much of the current religious unreality. She called herself Christ's floweret, and His little plaything, and a number of half-infantine appellations, but she never affirmed the floweret to be displeasing, or that she did not like to be played with. She was a simple flower, but she looked sweet and smelt sweet; she said so, and professed to have good authority for the statement. Not a rose, nor a stately lily: but, said she, if all the flowers wanted to be roses, Nature would lose her spring array and the fields their exquisitely enamelled forms. And she drew the conclusion that 'Our Lord is revealed just as truly in the most simple soul, which makes no resistance to divine grace, as in the most sublime.' And since it is ever Love's way to stoop, it seemed to Thérèse that if all souls resembled the holy doctors of the Church, *the good Lord would not have gone low enough in touching their level.* So there were little people lower down yet, necessary for the

glory of the divine condescension, and Thérèse felt herself to be one of these very little ones.

Then she made a common Roman Catholic mistake; having reduced her own stature by a sufficient number of cubits or spans towards the mystical zero, and having recalled that she was Jesus Christ's little fiancée, she proceeded to artificially minify Him. She worshipped Him as the Holy Child, much in the same way as Madame Guyon and others of her school were in the habit of reverencing a large doll of wax or other material, which they called the Child Jesus. This they dressed and decorated and made themselves ridiculous over, although there was no such figure in the Christian worship, and satisfied, as I suppose, feminine sentiments over their almost baby Jesus. Thérèse, in particular, was the ball that the baby played with; sometimes he threw it from him, sometimes he punctured it and spoiled it for play, and sometimes he went to sleep and forgot all about the poor little ball. 'He will want me again,' said Thérèse, 'when he wakes up': and for a long time she cast her religious experiences, hot and cold, moist and dry, into this language of the play-room. 'I wanted to amuse the little Jesus and to give myself up to his infantile caprices!' That is why, when she finally entered the convent, they gave her the name of Thérèse of the Child Jesus. Her other name, Thérèse of the Holy Face, is a later acquisition, and is due to the fact that she developed a peculiar affection for one of the recent big lies of the Roman Church. At Turin they profess to have the winding-sheet in which our Lord was buried: in order to revive the cult of this relic, they professed to discover and actually to photograph the figure of our Lord impressed upon the cloth. When this had once been established by what was called a scientific inquiry, the Pope ordered the Holy Face to be painted up and promised indulgences to its worshippers: Thérèse devoted herself to it, and made a copy; she then learnt, from one of her sisters, how to read all kinds of

spiritual mysteries from the lines on the Face, wrote poetry and hymns in its honour, and became Thérèse of the Holy Face.

Now let us come to her personal history. Before she was fifteen she decided to ask admission amongst the Carmelites of Lisieux. As she was far below the age at which that austere Order could be entered, she had to make a scheme to circumvent the regulations. And this was the way she managed it. Her father took her and her sister Céline with him on one of the great pilgrimages to Rome at the time of the Jubilee of Pope Leo XIII. When they reached Rome after a long journey through various centres of interest, in which most of their fellow travellers played cards all the time, they were received in audience by the Pope: each pilgrim was to be presented, but before the interview, it was expressly announced that no one was allowed to speak to the Holy Father; they were to kneel and receive his blessing and pass on. Thérèse, who had formed a little plan of asking the Pope to give her permission to enter the Carmelites at fifteen, had confided to Céline what she was going to do. Now she was disconcerted. A word with her elder sister on the point settled the matter. 'Go ahead,' said Céline, who was evidently a girl of character; 'speak to him.' So Thérèse put her hands on his knees, looked up in his face, and claimed the boon in honour of his jubilee. The Pope looked at her keenly, told her that the Superior of the Order must be obeyed, but evidently was much impressed with the child, and made a note of the case and promised that the will of God should be done. And not many months later the objections of the Bishop and Mother Superior were overruled, and she was admitted to the Carmelite Order. Céline painted a very pretty picture of the appealing Thérèse presenting her case to the Pope.

From that time forward she devoted herself to the love of Jesus in the way that pious nuns practise; she consecrated herself to suffer any indignity or hardship that

might come her way. She held Madame Guyon's rule, that—

Sorrow and love go side by side;
Nor height nor depth can e'er divide
Their heaven-appointed bands :
Those dear associates still are one,
Nor till the race of life be run,
Disjoin their wedded hands.

So far there is nothing except what is common in monastic story; all the convent littlenesses and jealousies and pettinesses are here, and it is not worth while attending to them. Almost the only really human incident in this part of the story occurs in 1895, when Thérèse found, in an unsuspected way, a man friend. It happened as follows:—A young priest wrote the Mother Superior, under the inspiration, as he said, of St. Teresa the Great, the foundress of the Order, to ask for a sister to be assigned to him and take especial care of his soul, and of the souls of those for whom he was working. He promised to make special mention of the sister every time that he offered the Holy Sacrament. The Mother Superior selected the little Thérèse for this service, and a correspondence sprung up between them. Thérèse was filled with joy. 'I should have to go back,' said she, 'to my childhood's days to be able to recall such joys, so lively that the soul is too small to contain them. Never since those early years had I tasted that kind of happiness; I felt that on this side my soul had become new, as if there had been touched in it chords that had been hitherto forgotten.' She expects great good from the new dispensation. 'When it pleases Jesus to unite two souls for His glory, He permits them the power of communicating their thoughts to one another with a view to the greater love of God.'

And the young man said it was Teresa the Great that told him; but verily a greater than Teresa is here. For even convent walls cannot wholly exclude love. Thérèse

discharged her new duties so well that, not long after, a second brother was bestowed on her. There does not seem to have been exactly the same emotion this time.

So far there is very little to capture the imagination of the French, even on the sentimental side of religion. Where does the attraction come in? First of all, there is a miraculous element which appeals to the credulous and the vulgar. Second, there seems to be no doubt that Thérèse was powerful in prayer and had the grace of intercession. Third, her spiritual nature was beautifully simple and winning, and her way of looking at things in a divinely natural manner appeals to all persons of a quick and delicate perception. Fourth, she promised that after her death she would work showers of miracles, and persons have not been slow to believe that she is actually doing it.

Let us take some of these points in order. One of the first things that drew the attention of religious people to Thérèse was the fact that on a certain occasion when she was seriously ill, she prayed to an image of the Virgin which she had in her room, and the little girl says that the image became animated, bent towards her with a ravishing smile, and in a moment cured all her ailments. That sort of thing is always happening to French girls: they expect it, and every now and then it comes. That is the origin of Paray-le-Monial and Lourdes and lots of similar shrines. The vulgar like it, and read accounts of it with avidity.

Second, Thérèse, when quite a young girl, had, as she supposed, a remarkable answer from her fiancé, the Child Jesus, in reference to a man who was, for various murders and violences, condemned to the guillotine. Thérèse set to work to pray for his soul; the man went to the scaffold hardened and impenitent, would listen to nothing that the priests said; but just at the last moment he seized the offered crucifix and kissed the sacred wounds. Thérèse accepted his salvation as a miracle in response to her prayer; and never doubted afterwards that the Lord would do what she asked.

Third, her spirit made exquisite expression of what she learned about self-annihilation, and the inner way and the death with Christ on the Cross. She often spoke in an inspired manner, and the inspirations were accompanied by telepathic perceptions of the thoughts of others. This will be a good place to note some of her sayings, which are often Protestant in character, and show the progress which her soul had made in the Divine Life. She tells us—

Jesus made me understand that the true and only glory is that which will last always; and that to reach it, one does not need to perform dazzling actions, but rather to hide from the eyes of others and from oneself, so that the left hand does not know what the right hand is doing.

I reckon not on my own merits; I have none: but I hope in Him who is Virtue and Sanctity itself. It is He alone who, contenting Himself with my feeble efforts, will raise me to Himself, cover me with His merits, and make me a saint.

She has to apologize for her deficiencies in the matter of dreams and visions, and, in so doing, she betrays that exquisite accord with Nature which so few, even of the great poets, have in perfection. She tells us—

I rarely have symbolic dreams; I even have to ask myself how it is that while I think of God all day long, I am not more busied with Him when I sleep. Usually I dream of woods, and flowers, and brooks and the great sea. I almost always see pretty little children, and I catch butterflies and birds such as I have never seen. You see, my dear mother, that my dreams have a poetic turn, but nothing of the mystic about them.

Is not that beautifully human and natural?

Most religious women under rule have to read the regular books on the spiritual life. Thérèse soon tired of them, and said so. She made exceptions. She had learnt much from St. John of the Cross, and between her sixteenth and seventeenth years she read a good deal. Then she said that spiritual authors produced in her spiritual aridity: her heart shut up when she opened the books. And then, she says, 'At that point the Bible and the *Imitatio Christi*

came to my aid : in them I found the hidden manna, solid and pure. But it is the gospel especially that talks to me when I pray : from it I draw all that is necessary for my poor little soul. Always I am finding there fresh light, secret and mysterious meanings. . . . Jesus had no need of books nor of teachers to instruct souls by: He Himself, the doctor of doctors, teaches without the noise of words. I know by experience that the kingdom of God is within you.'

If it should be thought that she makes her Lord in these words a little too like herself, it must at the same time be allowed that her sentiments are a combination of the highest spiritual perception with common sense.

Studying one day the various callings assigned to the saints in the New Testament, she was unable at first to recognize her own vocation in the body of Christ : but meditating, in a Pauline manner, on the power of Love, she concluded that without it Apostles would not preach nor martyrs shed their blood, and that therefore love was everything, everywhere, because it is eternal. Then, in an excess of delirious joy, she cried out : 'Oh, Jesus, my Love ! I have at last found my vocation : my vocation is love. Yes ! and I have found my place in the bosom of the Church.'

I pass on in the fourth place to the miracles which she promised should come after her death. 'I mean,' she said, 'to spend my time in heaven in doing good on the earth.' When one of the sisters asked whether she would not think of them when she was up there, she replied, 'No, indeed ! I shall come down.' At another time she promised that 'after my death I will make a shower of roses fall upon the earth.' Whatever she meant by this, it was taken by the pious in the sense that miracles were going to happen through Thérèse's intercession. And happen they did, and happening they are, as a part of the book headed 'Rain of Roses' describes with much satisfaction. In some respects the recitation is like the reports published by the purveyors of

patent medicines, they are so grotesque and impossible. Locks of Thérèse's hair, done up in little sachets, or similar bags of rose-leaves such as Thérèse had been in the habit of decorating her crucifix with; or a relic from her body (which includes one of her baby-teeth providentially preserved), all of these were laid upon the sick, and they recovered. One hundred and sixty-seven cases of Graces Conferred and Healings Received are before me. The problem of explaining them is an old one. Of some of it one might say, 'He that is able to receive it, let him receive it;' of others, that 'it is not contrary to experience that testimony should be false.' I do not discuss these things in detail. Hagiology is an awfully difficult science to co-ordinate with history.

Three years after Thérèse's death, her tomb was opened to see whether there was evidence of sanctity for the beatifiers. She had predicted that they would find nothing but her bones: but apparently they expected her body to be immune from corruption. However, when the grave was opened, two sextons (father and son, the office is commonly hereditary) remarked an exquisite scent of violets, inexplicable by any natural cause, and which produced in them profound emotion. And certainly no more appropriate symbol could be found for the beautiful life, since—

Only the actions of the just
Smell sweet, and blossom in the dust.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

ONE WORLD, ONE GOSPEL, AND ONE CHURCH

I

IN June 1910 the World's Missionary Conference was held in Edinburgh, and issued to the Churches of Christ an urgent call to make it their present aim to win, as speedily as God's Providence seems to demand, the whole manhood of all mankind for Christ. In July 1911 the First Universal Races Congress met in London, 'to discuss, in the light of science and the modern conscience, the general relations subsisting between the peoples of the West and those of the East, between so-called white and so-called coloured peoples, with a view to encouraging between them a fuller understanding, the most friendly feelings, and a heartier co-operation.' Each of these facts apart is significant, but jointly their significance is enhanced. The one fact tells us that mankind is one in nature, and ought to be one in moral sentiment; and the other fact tells us that this oneness can only be, and ought to be, in Christ. Humanity is ceasing to be an abstraction, and is becoming a reality; the solidarity of humanity is proving itself not a phrase but a fact. The world is being made one by mechanical invention, geographical exploration, colonial expansion, and commercial enterprise. The North and the South Poles have been reached, and there is now scarcely a land left to which the traveller has not pushed often his perilous way. England and Germany have no ground of quarrel in Europe: it is because Germany suspects England of the intention to thwart her colonial expansion in Africa that the navies of both steadily increase. A dispute about Morocco last summer endangered the world's peace. Italy's invasion of Tripoli, if followed by more aggressive measures against

Turkey, may kindle the fire in the Balkans for which the fuel is already gathered, and may even cause trouble to all the Christian nations that have Mohammedan subjects. Japan has borrowed the civilization and culture of Europe, while retaining its intense native patriotism. China is imitating Europe in its most advanced political theory; and even women are playing a turbulent part in politics just as in England. The coal strike in Great Britain is being felt not only in European lands, but is affecting the commercial interests of Japan. London is becoming the banking centre of the world's finance. The civilized races are coming into contact with the savage or barbarian; and, when uninspired by humanitarian or Christian sentiment, are exploiting their forced labour for their own gain, as on the Congo and the Amazon; are introducing European vices and diseases, as in the South Seas; and are themselves becoming brutalized: for if one race is not raising another, it is itself dragged down. All over the world daughter-nations of Great Britain are reproducing, with inevitable modifications, the ways of the motherland; the proposed reciprocity between Canada and the United States, though not secured, and the treaty of arbitration between the United States and Britain, though robbed of much of its value, are at least indications of a growing unity of interest among nations.

2. The material conditions for a united humanity are already present; it must be admitted, however, that the unity is being hindered and delayed by racial prejudice and national exclusiveness. Modern science is lending its support to the humanitarian sentiment which is opposing itself to the racial prejudice. Dr. Felix von Luschan, Professor of Anthropology in the University of Berlin, asserts that 'the three chief varieties of mankind' branch 'off from the same primitive stock,' and form physically 'a complete unity' (*Papers on Inter-Racial Problems*, p. 17). Dr. Charles S. Myers, Lecturer in Experimental Psychology in the University of Cambridge, asserts that we must concede

14 ONE WORLD, ONE GOSPEL, ONE CHURCH

'the possibility of the progressive development of all primitive peoples, if only the environment can be appropriately changed' (p. 73). Dr. Franz Boas, Professor of Anthropology in Columbia University, holds that we must give up 'the old idea of absolute stability of human types, and with it the belief of the hereditary superiority of certain types over others' (p. 103). Even the differences of colour are said to be due to difference of climate. The primitive man was probably 'dark-skinned,' and, moving northward, was 'bleached' yellow, and 'further bleached' white, or moving southward he 'was pigmented as a protection against too much sunlight' (p. 105). Even against miscegenation, the mixture of races, science has nothing to urge, but maintains that 'the results are likely to be advantageous if the crossing occurs under favourable conditions' (p. 111). If race prejudice has no justification, much less has national exclusiveness.

3. Within the nations there is going on a change which is itself prophetic of the unity of mankind. Modern society is in every civilized nation becoming more organic, and this is the condition of progress. Herbert Spencer has formulated this modern conception from the standpoint of science. Society is like a living organism in that it increases in bulk, develops in complexity, finding new organs for fresh functions, intensifies its unity in the greater mutual dependence of the parts on one another and on the whole, and continues even while the individuals composing it are constantly changing. He goes on, however, to deny that society is organic as possessing a corporate consciousness, like the common sensorium of the individual animal; but then he regards the individual only as the subject of painful or pleasurable feelings. An idealist philosophy goes further, and maintains that as rational man needs a rational environment, and this he finds only in society, the subjective reason in the individual is developed by the objective reason in the science, art, morals, and religion

of the society to which he belongs, and he, by the exercise of his own reason, can further the progress of reason in society. This conception of society as organic is but an interpretation of the actuality. The industrial revolution, due to the application of steam, and later of electricity, the invention of machinery, the improvement of means of transport, has in the economic system so increased the mutual dependence of individuals and classes on one another, that the social problem is one from which even the thoughtless and selfish cannot altogether escape. And the same conditions are making humanity organic.

4. Jesus rebuked the men of His own generation that they could not discern the signs of the times, as He Himself did, seeing the heralds of judgement in the sin and the unbelief of the people, their teachers and rulers. As the Christian Church is the organ of His continued work in the world, it is assuredly its function to exercise discernment in regard to the divine purpose in the course of human history. Paul had the spirit of Christ in his quick understanding of the obligation his opportunity laid upon him. While it is probable that his gospel, from his own distinctive experience, would have in any case gained its note of universality, yet it is certain that his Roman citizenship and such Greek culture as he may have possessed suggested to him how his ideal might be realized; thus his circumstances defined for him his vocation. The Christian Church in each age must discover the conditions that determine its duties. It must know the world so as to know how to win that world for the kingdom of God. It must seek to discover the points of contact for the gospel in the thought and life of the age; the lines of least resistance for its spread throughout the world. Who can doubt that this fact and this sentiment of the unity of mankind are not hostile, but favourable to the Church's mission in the world? What is the urgent obligation which is to-day laid upon the Church by this human movement? The duty pressing on its conscience seems to

16 ONE WORLD, ONE GOSPEL, ONE CHURCH

be twofold : to increase the sentiment, and to consecrate it in Christ.

5. The two modern ideas of the organic character of society and the unity of mankind are distinctively Christian truths, clearly expressed in the New Testament. Paul describes the Christian Church as one body, the members of which suffer or rejoice together, which draws its life from Christ, and the common life of which is love. If in Paul's time it was impossible to extend that unity throughout even the Roman Empire, owing to the hostility both of Judaism and paganism, yet his joy in the reconciliation of Jew and Gentile within the Church is surely prophetic of the greater good when the unity of all mankind will be realized. Not only did the Apostle teach in Athens, with its intellectual exclusiveness, that God 'made of one every nation of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth,' but within the Christian Church there was neither Jew nor Gentile, Greek nor barbarian, learned nor unlearned, bond nor free, male nor female, but all one in Christ Jesus. Such being the Christian principle, the Church may not only welcome, but can do much to hasten this growing unity of mankind. To the economic interests and moral sentiments drawing men together it can add the religious sanction. That unity can be completed only as it is a religious as well as a moral and an economic fact. The quickest and surest way of making mankind one, is by offering all men one gospel, bringing all into one kingdom, joining all by a common faith to the one Saviour and Lord. The missionary movement completes all these tendencies towards the solidarity of mankind.

II

1. But it may be asked, Has the Christian Church a universal gospel to offer to all men? It has just been indicated how in the Apostolic Age, even when racial, national, religious, and social prejudices were rampant, the

ONE WORLD, ONE GOSPEL, ONE CHURCH 17

Christian Church so clearly and firmly struck this note of universality. But it may be asked, Can this claim be made good? One might answer, It is being made good. The Conference in Edinburgh was in fact as well as in name concerned with a world-wide reality. The gospel is not only being preached in all the earth, so that the very ends of it are being reached; but the Christian Churches are gathering in men of every kindred, tribe, tongue and culture. Barbarian and savage races have by the gospel been uplifted to Christian belief and life. Much remains to be done to secure a thoroughly Christian society, but enough has been accomplished to warrant the confidence that the once debased heathen tribes will become Christian nations. The ancient civilizations, cultures, and faiths of China, Japan, and India, though offering a greater resistance, are being influenced, as is shown not only by the converts being won, but still more by the purification and elevation of the existing religions in order to withstand the spread of Christianity, as in Neo-Hinduism and in Neo-Buddhism. If, as is likely, a common culture and civilization spreads throughout the world, many hindrances to the progress of the Christian faith will be removed, and many helps to the apprehension and appreciation of it will emerge.

2. Yet, on the other hand, the situation which is so full of promise is also full of peril. If the other European influences should get the start of the Christian, a great opportunity may be lost, from our human standpoint, even irretrievably lost. European science and philosophy may overthrow the native religions only to impose the darkness of materialism or agnosticism. European civilization may break up the existing moral order, and be powerless to offer any higher moral guidance. Japan is already realizing the danger of a morality lacking the inspiration of religion. If Confucianism loses its hold in China, without a more adequate moral code gaining control, who can conceive the moral chaos? The unrest in India among the educated

18 ONE WORLD, ONE GOSPEL, ONE CHURCH

youth indicates its need of a moral ideal vitalized by religion. What the inferior races might become, apart from the guidance and guardianship of Christianity, in their first stages of civilization and culture, we have little indication, as among these peoples the missionary has been the pioneer. Although in Christendom there are many moral defects, and although the moral principles of Christianity are not consistently applied even by Christian men and women, yet there is in European society a moral restraint and constraint which can be traced historically to Christian influences. What the whole world would be if the material resources and intellectual treasures of Europe were appropriated by the other continents, Asia and Africa, without Christianity, who would dare to conjecture? This business of the kingdom of God requireth haste.

3. There is one problem in connexion with this urgent obligation to evangelize the world, while this favourable opportunity lasts, which is exercising the minds of many thoughtful advocates of missions. On the one side is Christianity, divided into sects with different creeds, rituals, politics; on the other are the religions of the world, which, as they have grown out of the thought and the life of the peoples who profess them, have some meaning and worth for them. Granted that Christianity is the one religion which is universal in character as well as missionary in effort, that it can satisfy the religious needs and direct the moral life of any people as no other religion can (an assumption which must be here made without further proof), is it this variegated theology or ethics which, without any modification, we are to impose for acceptance on other peoples? Are all the differences which have sprung up amid the conditions of European society to be transplanted to Asia or Africa, and is no account to be taken of conditions elsewhere which as legitimately might modify the intellectual or moral forms of the Christian faith? Surely the answer is obvious, although practically the Christian Churches are

very reluctant to face the fact. World-wide missions must possess the universal gospel, stripped of the local and temporal forms in which Christian faith has been more often buried than enshrined, and adapted without loss of its universality to the genius and ethos of each race.

4. Leaving aside the problem of adaptation, we must for our present purpose confine ourselves to the one question, How can this universal gospel be reached? Gratefully we must recognize how much modern scholarship is doing to-day to sever the kernel from the husk. 'The history of dogma,' says Harnack, 'in exposing the process of the origin and development of dogma, offers the most effective means of freeing the Church from dogmatic Christendom, and of hastening the ceaseless process of emancipation. But it also witnesses to the unity of the Christian faith in the course of its history, in so far as it shows that certain fundamental ideas of the gospel have never been lost, and have defied all assaults' (*Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte*, I. p. 5). What is true of dogma is also true of ritual and polity. The missionary also is forced to consider what is essential and what is accidental in his message, and much would be gained for this movement if scholars and missionaries would co-operate. The mission field is like the laboratory of the science of religion. In the contact and conflict of Christianity with, and its conquest of, other religions, it is, as it were, being subjected to an experiment which yields an analysis of its constituent elements; and the scholar has much to learn here. But the missionary also, as he learns from the scholar how his message has come to be what it is, may discover what in it he may abandon and what he must retain. But let missionary and scholar co-operate as they will, can they reach the universal gospel while the Churches to which they belong remain divided as they are?

III

1. This necessity was realized at Edinburgh, and attention was given to the problem of Church Unity. In the mission field most of the Protestant Churches respect one another's fields of labour, and do not attempt to compete with one another. In educational and medical work they can and do co-operate. In southern India a number of the native Churches are closely federated, and the growing national sentiment is a motive for getting rid of the differences which the foreigner has introduced, and gaining a unity of feeling and aim, in Church as in political affairs. Some of these endeavours may be premature, as the native Churches are not yet strong enough to stand alone. But there is the prospect of such national movements towards Church unity. Dare the missionary societies, and the Churches supporting them, oppose themselves to such endeavours to root Christianity in the native soil, and to save it from being an exotic? In the British colonies attempts at union are being made; but many difficulties emerge. The writer, in his recent visit to Canada, gained the impression that the feeling for union was colder than it had been. The Methodists feared to be Presbyterianized, and the Presbyterians to be Methodized, and some of the Congregationalists that their distinctive features would be altogether lost. The movement in South Africa has altogether miscarried. If in new lands such difficulties are met with, how much greater are they likely to be in an old country, where the past holds the present more tightly in its grasp?

2. The writer is forced to the conclusion that in these attempts a serious mistake is being made. It is assumed that Christian unity must be organized in an ecclesiastical system, in which each denomination participating in the union shall by negotiation preserve as much of its own peculiarity in doctrine or practice as possible, and the

differences shall be compromised as diplomatically as can be; the united Church is to be the resultant of the theological and ecclesiastical forces at work. Uniformity is supposed to be necessary to unity. This supposition the writer feels bound to challenge. He does not believe that uniformity is desirable. There are differences in thought, feeling, and aim, and why should not variety of form corresponding to these differences be encouraged within the unity of affection and co-operation? Just as the unity of humanity need not destroy distinctive nationality, so denominational differences may be embraced within the Christian Church, knowing and feeling and acting as one in its common faith, hope, love. The history of Christian sects surely teaches the lesson that an enforced uniformity leads only to division. Even before the Reformation the Roman Catholic Church was divided from the Greek Orthodox; and, earlier than that schism, the attempts in the oecumenical creeds to make all men think alike about God and Christ cut off from the Catholic Church the Arian, the Nestorian, and the Monophysite Churches. Catholicity in the sense of enforced uniformity has been one of the most divisive factors in history.

3. Much would be gained by a return to first principles. In the New Testament the Church is thought of in three aspects. This seems a more accurate statement than the more common assertion that the word 'Church' is used in three senses. The Church is the community of believers in Christ, partaking of His grace, and united to Him by faith. In every company gathered in His name—that is, in every local congregation, this Church is manifested, because Christ is present. But the Church is in all congregations as in each congregation, for Christ's is not merely a local but a universal presence. We speak in accordance with the truth of the New Testament when we speak of Christian Churches and the Christian Church, although probably to our mind the separateness is more a reality

22 ONE WORLD, ONE GOSPEL, ONE CHURCH

than the unity. The community of believers, however, does not come to complete and final manifestation in any or in all the congregations. It is the spiritual body of Christ, not confined by time or space, one on earth and in heaven, one through all the generations, both triumphant and militant, both perfect and progressive, human ideal and divine reality. As a Congregationalist, the writer would urge that modern scholarship confirms the contention of Congregationalism that the Church of Christ is to be recognized in every local congregation, that for the essential functions of the Church it is complete in Christ's presence and operation by His Spirit. This is being increasingly admitted by scholars of other denominations; and the recognition of this, it seems to him, must be the starting-point of all proposals for union.

4. It is Congregationalism, however, in its inclusiveness, and not its exclusiveness, that corresponds to New Testament teaching. The old name, Independency, explicable and justifiable by the historic conditions, gives a false and wrong emphasis. It is not in separation from, or opposition to, other congregations that the local congregation can claim to be the Christian Church, for then it lacks the greatest Christian grace—love. Such Independency ignores the other aspect of the Church in the New Testament. The apostolic Churches were not independent of one another, as Independent Churches have claimed to be, for they were in many ways closely associated with one another; there were apostolic visits and letters as one bond of union; the collection in the Gentile Churches for the poor in Jerusalem was another. The assertion of the rights of the individual against the claims of the universal Church is certainly not apostolic, for it is not Christian. If Roman or Anglo-Catholicism is unjustified in claiming that all later developments in doctrine, ritual, and polity which pretend to be catholic must be accepted, no less mistaken would be the demand that the modern Church should in external organiza-

tion reproduce the apostolic, for such imitation in the letter would be an abandonment of the spirit. The apostolic Church believed in a continuous divine inspiration directing its human organization, and, as regards this organization, scholarship is proving that uniformity was not required, but adaptation to local conditions and historical associations was allowed. Jewish synagogue and Gentile club alike influenced the arrangements of the congregations.

5. All organizations of the past have their justification, if they expressed the Church's life, and accomplished its tasks. To-day no polity can claim to be exclusively legitimate. Each has its value in the spiritual vitality and moral vigour which it fosters and exercises, and its warrant in the necessities of the soul it meets and the aspirations of the spirit it satisfies. The Spirit still lives and works in the Christian Church; and the more fully the Christian life is lived, and the more faithfully the Christian's task is discharged, the more abundant and evident will be the inspiration granted to direct the community of believers in all its organizations for common witness, worship, or work. The world and the age we live in is unlike any other, and so the Churches must ever be adapting themselves to be effective in testimony, influence, service. To maintain ancient traditions and venerable conventions is not fidelity to principle, but distrust of the guidance and guardianship of God's Spirit in man's progress, and so neglect of opportunity and failure in duty. So inspired and so adapting themselves, the Churches seem likely to maintain their variety. But that need be no hindrance to unity, if the spirit of catholicity, based on the recognition of the one Church of Christ, the spiritual body, in each and all congregations, becomes prevalent and dominant. Thus, without the enforcement of a uniformity which would only produce further division, the one Church of Christ may advance with the one Gospel to the conquest of the one World for the Kingdom of God.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

DEAN CHURCH: AN APPRECIATION

DEAN CHURCH died on December 10, 1890. The year that saw his passing had been one of many losses to the English Church and to English Christianity. Within a few months of each other, Bishop Lightfoot, John Henry Newman, and Canon Liddon had all passed away. But for some at least the Dean's death was the heaviest blow of all. He had not, it is true, Lightfoot's erudition, nor Liddon's eloquent tongue, nor Newman's dazzling subtlety; to many, indeed, it will seem sheer perversity to bracket his name with the great Oxford leader. If it be so, so be it. This paper makes no pretence to being a sober, critical estimate; it is the acknowledgement of a debt, a personal and almost life-long debt; and for myself I can only say that I would gladly barter everything that Liddon ever wrote for one volume of Dean Church, and that nothing that either Lightfoot or Newman has done for me can even be compared with what I have learned from him. I never saw him, I never heard him, I never had any communication with him, I know him only through his books, and yet, if I know myself, Methodist and Nonconformist as I am, it is to him more than to any other man, that I owe my own soul. That is why I have undertaken to write this paper.

I

I shall make no attempt to tell over again, even in outline, the story of Dean Church's life. A few leading dates may be given; for the rest I must be content to refer the reader to Miss Church's beautiful *Life* of her father, of which perhaps it is enough to say that it is a book such as her father himself might have read with approval. Church was born in 1815, and his seventy-five years fall into four

periods of curiously equal length. In 1833, when he was eighteen years of age, he entered as a student at Oxford. Nineteen years later he accepted the living at Whatley, a tiny village in Somersetshire. There he remained for nineteen years more, until in 1871 Gladstone persuaded him to accept the Deanery of St. Paul's Cathedral. Another nineteen years brings us to 1890, the time of his death.

Of the various influences which gave to Church's mind and character their individual bent, something will appear as we proceed. But there was one, so strong from the beginning and so persistent to the end of his career, that something should be said regarding it at once: I mean, of course, the influence of Newman, and of the whole Movement of which Newman was the head. The year in which Church went to Oxford—1833—was the year in which Keble preached in St. Mary's the famous sermon which Newman tells us he always regarded as the beginning of the Movement.¹ Three years later, from the same pulpit, Newman himself preached a sermon to which in after life Church was wont to look back as 'in some sort the turning-point of his life.'² And, indeed, no one who knew anything of the two men could miss all through the life of the disciple the hand of the master. 'You,' wrote Dr. (now Bishop) Talbot, to the Dean when Newman's long life was over, 'you have done more, so much more, than any one to carry on and convey to us the touch of his special spiritual and mental power.'³ And though Church's modesty put by the crown of such high praise—'it does make me feel such a fool,' he said in reply, 'to be spoken of in the same breath with him'—yet no one knew so well as he how much of what was best in him he owed to Newman. Even in so secondary a matter as style, it is, he tells a correspondent, to Newman that he owes it, if he can write at all simply, and with the wish to be real.⁴ But though he was always

¹ *Apologia*, p. 35.

² *Ibid.*, p. 346.

³ *Life and Letters*, p. 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

Newman's disciple, Church was far too strong a man to be Newman's slave. He knew his own mind, he chose his own path, and when the need arose he did not hesitate, not only to break away from his leader, but to criticize and condemn him. The Oxford Movement has been very variously judged; it was indeed a movement of mingled good and ill. It is easy to praise, easier still perhaps to blame it; what is not easy is to be fair to it; and even yet, perhaps, after all that has been written upon it, the final word has not been spoken. But this at least will be admitted, by friend and foe alike, that whatever of good was in it came to its finest flower and fruit in Richard William Church.

II

It is time now to take some note of the literary legacy which Church has bequeathed to us, and upon which, of course, our judgement of him must be largely based. For convenience' sake it may be divided into three groups: his work as a journalist, as an historian and man of letters, and as a preacher.

1. Of Church's work as a journalist I can say very little. In mere bulk it far exceeds his output either as an historian or as a preacher, but I am familiar only with that comparatively small portion of it which Miss Church has rescued from the buried files of the *Guardian*, the *Times*, and the *Saturday Review*, and reprinted in the two volumes of *Occasional Papers* which are now included in the collected edition of her father's works. Much the largest part of his journalistic work was done in the columns of the *Guardian*. That paper was founded in 1846, a few months after the secession of Newman, by a group of young High Churchmen, in order to maintain and promote within the English Church the distinctive principles of the Oxford Movement. Church was a regular contributor from the beginning, writing not only a weekly review, but an immense number

of articles on the political questions of the day. After his appointment to St. Paul's in 1871 his contributions became much less frequent, yet at the time of his death, his reviews and articles in that paper alone amounted, we are told, to over a thousand.¹

Two incidents in Church's career as a journalist are perhaps worth recalling. The early days of the infant *Guardian* were full of trouble. When it was only six months old its life was despaired of even by a friend as sympathetic and discerning as J. B. Mozley. 'The fate of the *Guardian*,' he writes to his sister, 'is I am afraid sealed. The circulation keeps obstinately stationary, and B. [Bernard, one of the founders of the journal] has given his decided opinion that, after notice given, it must be dropped.'² An article by young Church, however, saved the situation. Oddly enough, it was not a religious but a scientific article. 'The journal which had been started to sustain a Church revival was saved from an early death by its appreciation of physical science.' As early as March of that year Church had written an article on the controversy which broke out after the publication of the *Vestiges of Creation*,³ which had won the commendation of Sir Richard Owen. A second article from the same pen a few months later, describing the method and character of Le Verrier's discovery of the planet Neptune, drew a grateful letter from the great astronomer himself. 'At last,' Church writes to Mozley, 'we have got quoted in a morning paper, the *Daily News*, by help of Le Verrier's letter. We may be caught out in some "floor," but if we are not, I shall be very proud of the planet all my life long.'⁴

The second incident is of a wholly different character.

¹ See Preface to *Occasional Papers* and *Life and Letters*, p. 61.

² *Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley*, p. 178.

³ The article is reprinted in *Occasional Papers*, I, 53.

⁴ See an article in the Jubilee number of the *Guardian*, Jan. 22, 1896. It is worthy of note that the *Daily News* and the *Guardian* both issued their first numbers on the same day.

28 DEAN CHURCH: AN APPRECIATION

When *Ecce Homo* appeared in 1866, Church wrote a long and remarkable review of it.¹ The book, as every one knows, was published anonymously, and there were many guesses at its unknown author. Since the publication of the Letters of Church's intimate friend, Lord Blachford,² it has turned out that Church wrote his review under the impression that *Ecce Homo* was the work of Newman! Is it to be wondered that, in face of so strange a blunder by so qualified a judge, some have been led to ask whether in other fields of critical inquiry men may not be hanging on differences or similarities of language and style a weight which they are wholly unable to bear?³

There are few among the world's great workers the net result of whose work it is more difficult accurately to estimate than the journalist, but in Dean Church's case it was certainly very great. The *Guardian* has long been the most influential journal in English Church circles; and for more than a quarter of a century his was the clearest and strongest voice in its councils. When his party was reeling under the shock of Newman's secession, and the hearts of many were failing them through fear, it was he more than any other who became the rallying-point of the scattered remnant. And in our own day even an outsider can see how potent his influence still is. Are not the men of the *Lux Mundi* school—if one may be pardoned the phrase—almost all in a very real sense his spiritual children?⁴ Perhaps it is no exaggeration to say that during those long quiet years in his Somersetshire rectory, Church's was the greatest individual force, and that largely through his work as a Christian journalist, in directing the thought and determining the destiny of the Anglican Church.

2. It was, however, in the field of history and general

¹ *Occasional Papers*, II, 133. ² *Letters of Lord Blachford*, pp. 260-2.

³ See, for example, Sir W. Robertson Nicoll's *Church's One Foundation* (Pop. ed.), p. 39.

⁴ The essays in *Lux Mundi* contain more than a dozen direct references to Church.

literature that the Dean's most enduring work was accomplished. It was here, as his son-in-law, the late Bishop Paget, says, that his largest and most characteristic and most brilliant powers came to the front. 'The study of human nature, in its variety, its strangeness, its complexity; the analysis of broad movements into their component forces, or the tracing of them to their many causes; the severance and appraising of good and bad in the mixed actions of famous men; the redressing of unjust judgements; the patient observation and description of great courses of policy or action—these were tasks to which the Dean brought his very keenest interest, on which he spent his most serious and most concentrated work, in which he seemed to know no weariness.'¹ It is true he has given us no single large work. His various historical and literary studies are rather of the nature of a series of exquisitely cut cameos, of the finest workmanship. 'I should like,' he once told his friend, Dr. Asa Gray, 'to have done one good hard long piece of work. . . . The pleasure of finishing is with me mainly confined to finishing a longish sermon, or an article or essay, or small book.'² And the wish has sometimes found an echo in the regrets of some of his reviewers. It is more profitable, however, to appraise the treasures we possess than to mourn over those that we miss. And as soon as we set about an examination of the Dean's work two things at once impress us: its wide range and its high quality. Look at the faces in his long portrait gallery: from St. Wulfstan to Wordsworth; from the Early Ottomans to the leaders of the Oxford Movement; Cassiodorus and Gregory the Great; Anselm and Leo X; Dante, Montaigne, and Pascal; Hooker, Andrewes, and Butler; Spenser and Bacon. He will expound to us, and always with the authority of one who knows, the Psalms of Israel, the Rig Veda of India, the *Divina Commedia*, the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, the *Novum Organon*, the *Faery Queen* and the

¹ Preface to *Life and Letters*, p. xiii. ² *Life and Letters*, p. 305.

Analogy of Religion. He will guide us, with equal sureness of tread, through the intricacies of early mediaeval history and the mazes of Browning's *Sordello*.

The quality of Church's work is no less remarkable than its range. On this point I prefer to let the experts speak. And it is very interesting to observe how one who himself hated all over-strained and exaggerated language provokes even the soberest critics to the use of the superlative when they come to speak of him and his work. It is sixty years now since the Dean's essay on Dante was written, but in this field, Mr. R. H. Hutton declares, there is still no English scholar to compare with him. Of his essay on the Early Ottomans the same competent authority says it contains 'one of the most remarkable indications of high historical imagination which the literature of the present day has produced.' The volume on Bacon receives still higher praise: 'The book,' says Mr. Hutton, 'is a perfect model of what such a book should be. . . . It is the most perfect and the most final summing-up of the verdict of posterity on a great man after counsel on both sides have been fully heard, with which I am acquainted.'¹ When the companion volume on Spenser appeared the *Saturday Review* described it as 'by far the most complete study we yet possess of the second founder of our poetry.' 'The best of the many modern works on Anselm,' says Dr. H. B. Workman, 'is that of Dean Church.'² His little volume, the *Beginning of the Middle Ages*, stands, in the judgement of Mr. D. C. Lathbury, 'almost alone among books of its kind for its comprehensive grasp of a vast subject';³ while men like Gladstone, Morley, Hutton, and Dr. Sanday all unite in pronouncing his narrative of the Oxford Movement our most vivid and fascinating record of one of the most eventful chapters in modern history.⁴ 'Dean Church,' said Lord

¹ *Contemporary Thought and Thinkers*, II, 244, 281. Cp. *Life of R. W. Dale*, p. 685. ² *Church of the West in the Middle Ages*, I, 150.

³ *Leaders of the Church*—Dean Church, p. 170.

⁴ See Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, I, 168. As these pages are passing

Morley once to Mr. Stead, 'is the consummate flower of the culture of the England that is passing away. We shall never look upon his like again.'¹

3. Nor, in turning from the historian and man of letters to the preacher, is it necessary to drop into a lower key. The Oxford Movement, it is true, did not tend to magnify the preacher's office. 'The Sacraments, not preaching,' we are told, in the 'advertisement' which is prefixed to the collected edition of the Oxford Tracts, 'are the sources of Divine Grace.' The Movement taught people, Church himself says, to think less of preaching than of the sacraments and services of the Church.² And yet for all this I will be bold to maintain that the best of Church's sermons are among the greatest in the English language. Some ten volumes remain to represent his work in the pulpit.³ Three of those are 'Village Sermons' preached in the little church at Whatley. Their chief interest lies in showing how one of the most richly endowed minds of that generation could adapt itself to the lowly necessities of such a congregation, and especially in the fearlessness with which the preacher habitually dealt, and always in language of crystalline clearness, with the greatest themes of the Christian gospel. Church had no patience with the preaching which makes its home in the suburbs, but is a stranger to the citadel of New Testament teaching.⁴ The other seven volumes con-

through the press, I find the editor of the *British Weekly* writing, 'The best commentary on "Sordello" known to me is that by Dean Church' (May 30).

¹ *Review of Reviews*, Jan. 1891. Cp. Morley's *Gladstone*, II, 177.

² *Oxford Movement*, p. 128.

³ I include a little volume of Christmas Sermons, *The Message of Peace*, published by the S.P.C.K. Some of these, however, are to be found in the volumes published by Macmillan.

⁴ The first series of the *Village Sermons* contains the farewell sermon preached when the Dean left Whatley for London. It is a parting message which it seems almost sacrilege for any to read or hear, save those to whom it was directly spoken. In its simplicity, its tenderness, its pathos, it rivals, as Dr. Donaldson says, the famous Littlemore sermon by Newman on the Parting of Friends.

32 DEAN CHURCH: AN APPRECIATION

sist of sermons (or lectures) delivered in St. Paul's, St. Mary's (Oxford), and elsewhere, on various occasions. The most precious of them to me—partly perhaps, because more than twenty years ago, it was my first introduction to Church—is the volume entitled *Human Life and Its Conditions*. It contains only seven sermons, but there is more than one of the seven the reading of which might well prove an epoch in a young man's intellectual and spiritual life. If it were given me to prepare a selection of, say, fifty of the greatest sermons of the nineteenth century there are not less than four in that one small volume of Church's which I should not know how to leave out.

To some, doubtless, this will seem the language of wild and ridiculous excess. But if I err, at least I do so in good company, for the use of the superlative comes as naturally to the judges of Church's sermons as of his other writings. When his *Cathedral and University Sermons* were published, the editor of the *British Weekly*¹ spoke of them as the most magnificent sermons in the English language. Dr. Dale used to put them into the hands of his friends saying 'read them—read them over and over again, and you will see the kind of sermons I like.'² Of the little volume, *The Discipline of the Christian Character*, Bishop Gore writes that it seems to him the best existing answer to the question, In what does the inspiration of the Old Testament consist?³ And Canon Scott Holland remembers how he and his fellow students at Oxford used to note with surprise on Church's occasional visits to St. Mary's, 'the many faces among the congregation of dons whom it was very rare to see at a University sermon.'⁴ It will be our business in a moment to learn what we can of the secret of this wonderful power; meanwhile let it be said that if a man

¹ *British Weekly*, Feb. 9, 1893.

² *Life*, p. 642.

³ *Lux Mundi*, p. 345 (footnote). Cp. R. H. Hutton's *Contemporary Thought and Thinkers*, II, 232.

⁴ *Life and Letters*, p. 206.

would see how delicate insight, and spiritual passion, and the perfection of literary form, and above all, a mind wholly mastered by the ruling ideas of the New Testament, may be yoked to the service of the Christian ministry, let him give himself to the study of the sermons of Dean Church.

III

From this hasty survey of Church's writings we may pass on to note a few of the characteristics, both intellectual and spiritual, which they reveal.

1. 'Let us pray the Holy Spirit of Truth,' he said once in an address to his brother clergymen, 'to give us the single eye, the fearless heart, the dread of self-deceit, the love of what is real, the hatred and horror of what is showy and insincere.'¹ It is a prayer which was continually on the lips and in the hearts of the men of the Oxford Movement. They understood, as it has been given to few to understand, the austerity of the New Testament. With them self-repression was an instinct; their minds were never far from the haunting fear of unreal words. And in all these things Dean Church shows himself a true child of the Movement. One sees it on every page of his writings. What he so well says of Wordsworth is not less true of himself: 'With his power and richness of imagination, and his full command over all the resources of voice and ear, an austere purity and plainness and nobleness marked all that he wrote, and formed a combination as distinct as it was uncommon.'² When a correspondent wrote to ask him concerning the secrets of good writing, his reply was that he did not recognize in himself any special training for style 'except in watching against the temptation of *unreal* and of *fine* words.'³ One of his favourite quotations was Newman's—

¹ *Cathedral and University Sermons*, p. 218.

² *Dante and other Essays*, p. 212.

³ *Life and Letters*, p. 325.

Prune thou thy words, the thoughts control
 That o'er thee swell and throng;
 They will condense within thy soul,
 And change to purpose strong.

And he never tires of warning men that there is a natural nemesis that waits upon all over-strong and exaggerated speech, that even what is true loses its weight at last through habits of idle and loose over-statement.¹ Literary critics are never weary of praising the winning beauty of Church's style; but let it not be forgotten that it is the beauty which is born of truthfulness and simplicity, and of that sincerity of a man with himself as well as with his readers which is one of the first conditions of the highest literary excellence.

And the same stern self-repression, the same hatred and horror of what is showy and insincere, marked the whole man. It was with the utmost reluctance that he suffered himself to be torn from the seclusion of his Somersetshire rectory. Before he died he chose for his last resting-place a spot in the quiet country churchyard there, and with something like vehemence he charged his friends that no memorial of any kind should be placed to him in St. Paul's Cathedral.² Moreover, there is good reason to believe—though Church himself remained doggedly silent on the matter—that it was only his own resolute refusal even to consider the proposal that kept him out of the chair of St. Anselm.³ What is, perhaps, most striking of all, he wrote in a volume of over four hundred pages the history of a movement in

¹ See especially a sermon on 'Strong Words,' *Pascal and other Sermons*, p. 255.

² *Life and Letters*, p. 220.

³ Morley in his *Life of Gladstone* (III, 96) says bluntly there is no truth in the story. But the letter which he quotes certainly does not disprove it, and on the contrary the statements of Church's intimate friends, Lord Blachford (*Letters*, p. 417) and Canon Scott Holland (Church's *Life and Letters*, p. 229) seem to put the matter beyond all reasonable doubt. It is worthy of note that Gladstone had been very disappointed that Church did not succeed Stanley in 1863 in the Chair of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford (*Life*, II, 480), and that in 1869 he had himself offered him a vacant Canonry at Worcester (*Life and Letters*, p. 180).

which he was himself a prominent actor, not only without once mentioning his own name, but, except in the preface and two footnotes, and on the last page, without ever using the first person singular! We may well ask if, outside that charmed circle of Oxford saints and scholars, Scotsman, Irishman, or Englishman ever performed a feat like that.¹

2. A scarcely less conspicuous characteristic of Church's mind was his unfailing recognition of the limitations of our knowledge. It was due, in large measure, to his life-long study of Butler. 'It is a great wish of mine,' he wrote in his early days as a student at Oxford, 'to be properly acquainted with Butler, to lay the foundations of my own mind amid his works—to have him ever facing me and imbuing me with his spirit.'² And henceforth Butler ranks with Dante and Pascal and Newman as one of the chief influences by which his mind was moulded. All his thinking is 'instinct with the awful consciousness of our immense and hopeless ignorance of the ways and counsels of God.' It filled him with wonder, tinged sometimes with something like scorn, to hear men arguing 'as if the whole of the invisible world was as easy to be understood as the theory of the steam-engine.' He listened once to a sermon on the dread subject of future punishment. The sermon was forcible enough in its Scripture proofs, but, he says, it simply worried and almost exasperated him, 'because it assumed all through that we knew that exact definite purport of the Scripture terms used, and that they were used with exact correspondence with our own on the same subject.' 'My own feeling about the whole subject,' he said, 'is that

¹ *Critical Review*, I, 297.

² *Life and Letters*, p. 17. There is a curious parallel at several points between the lives of these two great Churchmen. Butler was a student, and Church a Fellow, of Oriel College, Oxford. Each was long buried in retirement, the one at Stanhope, the other at Whatley. Each was Dean of St. Paul's. Each was offered and refused the Primacy, and in each there was the same high seriousness, the same noble austerity, the same touch of unearthliness.

the wisest thing man can do is to cultivate diligently a sense of their own hopeless ignorance, and to have the courage to say "I cannot tell!"¹ And so too in regard to the equally mysterious problem of pain: 'Why pain at all? I can only say that the very attempt to give an answer, that the very thought of an answer *by us* being conceivable, seems to me one which a reasonable being, in our circumstances, ought not to entertain. It seems to me one of those questions which can only be expressed by such a figure as a fly trying to get through a glass window, or a human being jumping into space; that is, it is almost impossible to express the futility of it.' 'Of course,' he added, 'this is only Butler again; it is only vagueness and platitude. Every one knows it. But not only I cannot get beyond it, but I cannot imagine any one doing so.' 'Without being a sceptic or an agnostic, one may feel that there are questions in the world which never will be answered on this side of the grave, perhaps not on the other. It was the saying of an old Greek in the very dawn of thought, that men would meet with many surprises when they were dead. Perhaps one will be the recollection that when we were here, we thought the ways of Almighty God so easy to argue about.'² No words could more truly reveal one aspect of Church's mind. Light has indeed come into the world, and Church saw it and rejoiced in it, but he never forgot what some men will not remember, the deep and impenetrable shadows by which it is girdled.

3. Another marked quality of the Dean's mind was his judicial temper. His judgements were by no means always lenient; but lenient or severe, they were (with one important exception, to which reference will be made in a moment), the judgements of one who had heard counsel on both sides, and had honestly sought to put himself in possession of all the facts upon which a judgement should be based. There is perhaps no better illustration of this judicial temper than is to

¹ *Life and Letters*, pp. 266-7.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 275, 338.

be found in his great sermon entitled 'Sin and Judgement.'¹ At the close of the sermon he adds a note saying that the sermon was written before the writer had seen Dr. Farrar's sermon on the same text.² There is something almost cruel in the suggested comparison. No contrast could well be greater than that between the calm and solemn pages of Church, and the fevered rhetoric of Farrar. Farrar withers us with a tempest of words. He is like some shrill barrister bent on securing a verdict; he does not care a fig for the other side of the case; he will scarcely admit even that there is another side. Church is the judge on the bench who knows that there are two sides, and who is resolute that both sides shall be fully heard. It was this fixed habit of looking all round things that led him to question some of an Englishman's most confident judgements concerning the past. Was the Papal Supremacy, e. g., always and only the evil thing which the average Protestant still perhaps believes it to have been? Church was too thorough a student of history to shut his eyes to the wickedness and vileness which have from time to time gathered around the Roman See, and which are, he truly says 'one of the most revolting profanations recorded in the history of the world.'³ And yet on the other hand—this is the kind of question he would have us put to ourselves—where, in those rough, wild days, when might was right, and the long battle between law and tyranny had scarce begun, where could men look if not to the Church, with its authority concentrated and represented in the Pope?⁴ And so, too, in regard to monasticism. What 'monkery' had become in the days of Luther we all know, and Europe's protest in the sixteenth century needs no apology. But again, Church would remind us, there is another side to the picture. What drunkenness is

¹ *Human Life and its Conditions*, pp. 97-124.

² In his *Eternal Hope*.

³ *Beginning of the Middle Ages*, p. 188.

⁴ See *St. Anselm*, pp. 266, 339.

to this generation, licentiousness was to the society of the Roman Empire; and an age which gives its benediction to the mild asceticism of the Temperance movement should have something besides curses for the efforts of an earlier age to stem the fierce torrent of impurity.¹

We see the same large-mindedness in the Dean's attitude towards the controversies of his own day. He rebuked with equal sternness the raw haste of the revolutionary who is ready to inaugurate a new intellectual era between sunrise and sunset, and the unthinking foolish fear that sees a bogey in every unfamiliar truth. Thus, e. g., when some were losing their heads over the publication of the *Vestiges of Creation* and the *Origin of Species*, Church told them bluntly they were acting 'more like old ladies than philosophers.'² When, again, in 1860, *Essays and Reviews* threw the whole ecclesiastical world into a ferment, he condemned the book as a reckless book; 'several of the writers,' he said, 'have not got their thoughts and theories into such order and consistency as to warrant their coming before the world with such revolutionary views.' 'But,' he went on, 'there has been a great deal of unwise panic, and unjust and hasty abuse, and people who have not an inkling of the difficulties which beset the questions, are for settling them in a summary way, which is perilous for every one.'³ And, again, thirty years later, when the writers of *Lux Mundi* raised the whole problem of Biblical Criticism, Church, while deploring that the subject had been so often dealt with by 'a cruel and insolent curiosity, utterly reckless of results and even enjoying the pleasure of affronting religion and religious faith,' nevertheless insisted 'that the time had come for a more resolute facing and handling of the questions, what the Bible really is, and how it came to be.'⁴

Again, it was this largeness of outlook, joined with his

¹ See Mr. Stead's report of a conversation with the Dean on this subject, *Review of Reviews*, Jan., 1891.

² *Life and Letters*, p. 154.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 342.

native seriousness of temperament, which made Church so alive to the greatness of the issues at stake in the conflict between faith and unbelief, and so impatient of the flippancy of some of the combatants. Towards ignorance and doubt seeking for some one to guide them he was all patience and sympathy; but when men talked as if the claims of Christianity could be disposed of between the courses of dinner, or in the pages of a magazine article—'sapping a solemn creed with solemn sneer'—his scorn broke through all bonds. 'Suspect what has the mark of insolence,' he would say—a word, his son-in-law tells us, that came from his lips with a peculiar ring and emphasis—'suspect what has the mark of insolence wherever you see it, as much as if it had the mark of untruth, or insincerity, or haste, or passion.' 'If,' he said, 'the opponents of Christianity are right, if the victory lies with them, it is much more than that Christians are mistaken, as men have been mistaken, and have corrected in time their mistakes, about science, about principles of government, about the policy or economy of a state. It means that now as regards religion, as widely as men are living and acting, all that is now is false, rotten, wrong. Our present hopes are utterly extinguished. Our present motives are as unsubstantial as bubbles on water. We are living in a dream. We are wasting on an idol the best love, the highest affections, the purest tenderness which can dwell in human hearts.' Of course, he went on, 'consequences are nothing to the logic of an argument. Consequences cannot alter the laws and facts of the universe. But consequences bring home to us a quicker sense of the reality of what we are talking about. They are a bridle on idle and empty words.' Therefore, if we are to lose Christianity, let us at least be alive to what we are doing; 'and if we are to lose it—to lose Him whom the modern world has hitherto looked to for its ideal and leaned on for its support, if the new world before us is to be one without the Cross, or God, or immortality, let us know what we are

about; let us have the seriousness which befits the surrender of such a hope, the seriousness with which a vanquished state surrenders territory or independence to the necessities of defeat, with which in the old strife of parties a beaten statesman surrendered his life and fate to the law.' ¹

4. Enough, I think, has been said in this paper to show even to those who are least familiar with Church's writings, the range of his intellectual interests and his power to appreciate varying forms of intellectual greatness. But no man was ever further from that worst treason against the soul which blurs the distinction between the greatness of intellect and the greatness of goodness. 'The greatness of doing right, the greatness of a good life, the greatness of duty and conscience, the greatness of wishing to be good'—all this belongs to a different order of greatness from the greatness of the intellect. 'St. Paul was as great in his own order as Newton was in his; and that which made St. Paul great was as far and as distinct from that which made Newton great, as Newton's greatness was apart from, and perhaps incomprehensible to, the mighty and rich of this world.' 'And though in our judgement of persons, we shall do wisely to exercise to the full the charities due from our own half-knowledge and imperfection, there cannot be a greater heresy against reason and the sacred faith in righteousness than to think that the greater gifts carry with them diminished responsibilities and larger licence, that a life that otherwise would be at once condemned may be forgiven for the splendour which surrounds its vices.' It is in the sermon from which these sentences are taken—'The Supremacy of Goodness' ²—that this great conviction finds its noblest expression, but it shines with a fixed and steady light through all the Dean's writings. He notes as the

¹ From a sermon on Responsibility for our Belief (*Human Life and its Conditions*, pp. 64-96).

² *Human Life and its Conditions*, pp. 1-30.

dominant character of the preaching of Newman its 'passionate and sustained earnestness after a high moral rule, seriously realized in conduct.'¹ To his loved Dante he can accord no higher praise than this, that 'no one who could understand and do homage to greatness in man, ever drew the line so strongly between greatness and goodness, and so unhesitatingly placed the hero of this world only—placed him in all his magnificence, honoured with no timid or dissembling reverence—at the distance of worlds below the place of the lowest saint.'² Perhaps nothing that he ever wrote tried him so severely as his little book on Bacon. His letters show how he shrank from telling what he took to be the plain truth concerning Bacon's character.³ But the task was accepted and the lines never swerve. It is no grudging tribute which Church pays to Bacon's greatness: 'It is difficult,' he says, 'to imagine a grander and more magnificent career; and his name ranks among the few chosen examples of human achievement. And yet,' he goes on, 'it was not only an unhappy life; it was a poor life. . . . Bacon chose to please men, and not to follow what his soul must have told him was the better way. He wanted, in his dealings with men, that sincerity on which he insisted so strongly in his dealings with nature and knowledge. And the ruin of a great life was the consequence.'⁴

And the goodness which Church thus crowned and set apart was no vague and shadowy excellence. It had its pattern and standard in the life and mind and self-sacrificing goodness of the Son of God. 'The world,' he said in a sermon preached only three years before his death—and the words are the more memorable because they read like one of the speaker's rare self-disclosures—'the world in which we now pass our days is full of great powers. Nature is great in its bounty, in its sternness, in its unbroken

¹ *Oxford Movement*, p. 21.

² *Life and Letters*, p. 308.

³ *Dante*, p. 189.

⁴ *Bacon*, pp. 2, 4.

42 DEAN CHURCH: AN APPRECIATION

uniformity; literature and art are great in what they have created for us; beauty is great in its infinite expressions; but these are not the powers for man—man, the responsible man, the sinner and the penitent, who may be the same—to fall down and worship. They are to pass with the world in which we have known them, the world of which they are part; but man remains, remains what he is in soul and character and affections. *They*, at least, feel this who are drawing near to the unseen and unknown beyond; they to whom, it may be, these great gifts of God, the spell and wonder of art and literature, the glory and sweet tenderness of nature, have been the brightness and joy of days that are now fast ending: *they* feel that there is yet an utter want of what these things cannot give; that soul and heart want something yet deeper, something more lovely, something more divine—that which will realize man's ideals, that which will complete and fulfill his incompleteness and his helplessness—yes, the real likeness in thought and will and character, to the goodness of Jesus Christ.¹

'*The real likeness in thought and will and character to the goodness of Jesus Christ*': this was the ideal which Church kept steadily before him in all he wrote and in all he was. It is a high claim, but those who knew him best are the first to make it. Even men who had no sympathy with his religious school could not come near him without doing homage to the unworldliness and elevation of his character. Mark Pattison, who splashed so many reputations with his acid, has nothing but admiration for Church. When in his *Memoirs* he recalls the election of the young Wadham student to be Fellow of Oriel, he quotes the saying of another, 'There was such a moral beauty about Church that they could not help taking him.'² Lord Morley, too, who seems to kindle at every mention of the name of Church, writes of him as 'a man who united in so wonderful a

¹ *Cathedral and University Sermons*, p. 166.

² p. 163.

degree the best gifts that come of culture, sound and just sense, and sustained purity of spirit.'¹ And in this again Church proves himself heir to the best traditions of the Oxford Movement. The leaders of that Movement, however we may judge them in other matters, were men to whom religion really meant 'the most awful and the most seriously personal thing on earth.' Unseen things were to them the things that really are; the real world was the spiritual world. Newman preached about that world, Church said, 'so that he made you feel without doubt that it was the most real of worlds to him; he made you feel in time, in spite of yourself, that it was a real world with which you too had concern.'² So it was with Church; he lived, he spoke, he wrote, as seeing Him who is invisible. Surely the day must come, he said once, 'when even our most serious controversies, even our great and apparently hopeless controversy with Rome, may be carried on as if in the presence and under the full knowledge and judgement of the Lord of truth and charity.'³ This was the deep undertone of his whole life. The divine judgement, in which we all profess to believe, was with him an ever-present fact. 'It was,' said one who was very near to him, 'as though he lived in constant recollection of something that was awful and was dreadful to him; something that bore with searching force on all men's ways and purposes and hopes and fears; something before which he knew himself to be, as it were, continually arraigned.'⁴ 'I often have,' Church wrote to the same friend not long before his death, 'a kind of waking dream; up one road, the image of a man decked and adorned as if for a triumph, carried up by rejoicing and exulting friends, who praise his goodness and achievements; and, on the other road, turned back to back to it, there is the very man himself in sordid and squalid apparel, surrounded not by friends, but by ministers of justice, and

¹ *Life of Gladstone*, II, 177.

³ *Life and Letters*, p. 301.

² *Occasional Papers*, II, 445.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xxii.

44 DEAN CHURCH: AN APPRECIATION

going on, while his friends are exulting, to his certain and perhaps awful judgement.'¹ It is a sublime figure, not unworthy, as Morley says, of the Dante whom its author so much loved and so well understood; and it lets us farther, perhaps, than any other single saying into the inmost secret of this great and good man's life.

IV

It is time now to bring this long eulogy to a close, and in doing so to indicate one point at which, for the present writer at least, the language of appreciation which has hitherto been employed, becomes impossible. I shall not dwell upon it, but I should be false to one of the chief lessons of Church's own life were I to pass it over in silence.

The general attitude of the leaders of the Oxford Movement towards their fellow Christians of the other Protestant Churches in England is matter of common knowledge. If one cared more to score a point in debate than to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, it would be very easy to disinter from the literature of the period examples of the worst kind of ecclesiastical narrowness. But these things are better left in their proper oblivion. What has to be said is that Dean Church, with all his genuine catholicity of spirit, represents the littleness as well as the greatness of the Movement to which he belonged. His biography reveals, it is true, how sincere could be his attachment to those who were not of his own Church, and how unaffected his admiration of their work. It is true, too, as Mr. Hutton points out,² that there was a 'Puseyite' form of narrowness of which Church was never in danger. But, unhappily, this is not the whole story. He cannot, of course, any more than the rest of his friends, get his tongue round the word 'Church' when he is referring to those of us who are not Anglicans; we are 'other bodies which claim to be Churches and to

¹ *Life and Letters*, p. xxiv. ² *Contemporary Thought and Thinkers*, II, 244.

represent the message of God.'¹ It is curious to note, by the way, that the measure which in this matter he metes out to us, is measured to him again by his old friend Cardinal Newman.² All this, however, regrettable as it is, is only what we have grown accustomed to at the hands of the modern High Churchman. What one did look for in a man of Church's cosmopolitan culture is a more generous recognition of worth and work which do not bear the Anglican stamp. Let one illustration suffice. Every biblical student to-day freely acknowledges the debt of all the Churches to the splendid pioneer work done by the Christian scholars of Scotland in the field of Historical Criticism. Yet there might be no Christianity north of the Tweed for all the recognition it gets in the pages of Dean Church. Still more lamentable are his judgements on some of the heroes of Nonconformity. Like most of his school, he is much more cordial in his blame than his praise of the Reformers, English or Continental. This is how he writes of Calvin: 'Dogmatist, persecutor, tyrant, the proud and relentless fanatic, who more than any one consecrated harsh narrowness in religion by cruel theories about God.'³ Barrowe, one of the early martyrs of Congregationalism, he dismisses as an 'obscure sectary.'⁴ And even of Cromwell himself—and this time he fairly takes our breath away—he declares that 'the great Puritan chieftain passed away like a dream, and left not a trace of himself in the character and serious thought of England.'⁵

All this is very perplexing, and it is not easy to find a place for it in our estimate of a man of Church's intellectual and spiritual build. Does it mean that even his judgement had been warped in the fierce fires of ecclesiastical antipathy? Why can he not see—so the Nonconformist reader asks himself again and again as he turns the pages of the *Oxford*

¹ *Occasional Papers*, II, 397.

² *Ibid.*, II, 403.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 359.

⁴ *Pascal and other Sermons*, p. 54.

⁵ *Occasional Papers*, I, 34.

Movement—that the arguments by which he as an Anglican would make good his defence against the Roman Catholic are the very arguments with which the mouth of the Nonconformist is filled in his controversy with the Anglican? ‘They who had received their Christianity,’ Church writes, ‘at the hands of the English Church had duties towards it from which neither dissatisfaction nor the idea of something better could absolve them.’¹ Exactly: and that, too, is our contention. Again, he says, ‘Rome has not such a clean record of history, it has not such a clean account of what is done and permitted in its dominions under an authority supposed to be irresistible, that it can claim to be the one pure and perfect Church, entitled to judge and correct and govern all other Churches. And if the claim is made, there is no help for it, we must not shrink from the task of giving the answer.’² For ‘Rome’ substitute ‘Church of England’ and again you have the answer of the English Nonconformist. Once more, Church tells us what it was that rallied Newman’s friends to the English Church, after the shock of his secession: ‘It was,’ he says, ‘the resolute and serious appeal from brilliant logic, and stern sarcasm, and pathetic and impressive eloquence, to reality and experience, as well as to history, as to the position and substantial characteristics of the traditional and actually existing English Church, shown not on paper, but in work, and in spite of contradictory experiences and inconsistent elements.’³ And once more, I ask, is not reasoning of this kind as valid on the lips of a Presbyterian or Methodist as of an Anglican? We, the children of Knox and of Wesley, can we not point to ‘reality and experience’ as well as Dean Church? Have our Churches no ‘positive and substantial characteristics shown not on paper but in work’? And God who knoweth the hearts, hath He not borne us witness, giving us the Holy

¹ *Oxford Movement*, p. 239.

² *Ibid.*, p. 260.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 401. My quotation is correct, but the sentence obviously needs a little re-shaping.

Spirit, even as He did unto others, and hath put no difference between us and them ?

And yet, though it would have been something like treason to oneself to have left this word of protest unspoken, I end as I began, with the word of gratitude and honour. I gladly confess myself one of those who have seen in Richard William Church—so at least they believe—at once the most cultured and the most completely Christian mind of his generation. And if there are any to whom, on the lips of a Methodist, this seems a hard saying, I am content to justify myself as Church justified his own devotion to Newman : there are in the Christian Church—thank God, there are—bonds of affinity, subtler, more real and more prevailing than even the fatal legacies of the great schisms, and the sympathies which unite the saints of Anglicanism with the disciples of Wesley are as strong and natural as the barriers which outwardly keep them asunder are to human eyes hopelessly insurmountable.

GEORGE JACKSON.

THE TRANSLATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

The Epistles of St. Paul. The text prepared by the Rt.
Hon. SIR EDWARD CLARKE, K.C.

THE problem of providing a satisfactory English New Testament is by no means solved. There is, indeed, no agreement as to the principles on which such a work should be based; and still less, if less than none be possible, as to the merits of the versions already before the public. The Revised Version of 1881, like most human productions, failed to please everybody. It was attacked, indeed, from the most diverse quarters and on the most various grounds: for choosing the wrong text to translate, and for translating it badly; for false Greek and for false English; for putting the correct version into the margin and for putting into the text what ought to have been in the margin; for a hundred other reasons, some serious, some trivial. As a result, there can be no doubt that at first its chances of acceptance were slight. Dean Burgon, as is well known, went to his grave with the proud conviction that he had killed the Revised Version. Many others, however, were unwilling to allow Burgon the sole glory, and insisted on a recognition of their own share in the slaughter.

After thirty years, perhaps, one may look round over the field of battle with calmer eyes, and take a juster view of the results than the combatants themselves. It becomes evident at last that whatever may be the fate of the Revised Version, whether it is to die or whether it is to live, it was not killed by Dean Burgon. In the first place, it is not dead

at all : for it still sells ; and most books are not like Indians, that sell better when they are dead. In the second place, it is precisely where Burgon's attacks were keenest that time has proved the version strongest. Objection may be taken here and there to readings preferred by Westcott and Hort, on whose text the Version (to speak in general terms) was based. Those two great scholars may perhaps have been too uncompromising in their idolatry of the Vatican manuscript ; and future research may redress the balance slightly in favour of other traditions. But that the principles of Burgon will ever prevail, that the Received Text (for this is what his views amount to) will ever be received again, is inconceivable. As well expect Travis to be preferred to Porson, and the Three Witnesses to come to life again, as expect Burgon's criticisms on the Greek text adopted by the Revisers to regain credit. The final edition of the Greek Testament will not be quite that of Westcott and Hort. But it will differ from it only in minutiae ; while it will be poles apart from that approved by Burgon.

The objections to the Revised Version that still hold their ground are of a different kind. Pedantic alterations in places where the translation was already sufficiently accurate ; vexatious triflings with a time-honoured tradition ; a want of feeling for harmony and rhythm ; and in general a lack of proper respect for the noble Version they were set to revise and not to mangle—these are the crimes now laid to the charge of the men of 1881. Why, for example, people ask, should the same Greek word, regardless of the context, be always rendered by the same English words ? Why should the Greek aorist, in defiance of English idiom, be so constantly rendered by the past indefinite, and that too when the Authorized Version has to be altered in order to consummate the outrage ? Why, again, should the appearance of an article in the Greek be invariably signaled by the appearance of an article in English, whether the genius of our language requires it or not ? In a word, the

prevailing view to-day is that the Revised Version may do tolerably well as a 'crib' for a schoolboy preparing his Westcott and Hort, but will most emphatically *not* suit the average English reader, who is irritated by it at every turn, and to irritate whom might almost seem to have been one of its main purposes.

Some of these charges, it is true, are scarcely worth refutation. Such is that which is based on the rejection of verse-divisions—a charge going back to the time when isolated texts, torn more or less violently from their surroundings, were regarded as individual wholes, to be misinterpreted accordingly. It is a charge unworthy of any one with the slightest pretensions either to scholarship or to literary feeling—not that it has not been made by pretenders to both—and can emanate only from the dullest and most unreasoning conservatism. The charge of want of English, also, is rendered absurd when we reflect that the three chiefs of the modern school, who were supposed to have had most to do with the 'pedantic' alterations, were also the three whose version of the Book of Wisdom is a confessed masterpiece, not only of Greek scholarship, but of English—strong, pure, harmonious, and undefiled. The Revisers may have been occasionally too exact for the beauty of their own language; but the reason was that they preferred accuracy to ornament: they *could* have written flowing English had they so chosen.

But the fact remains that this kind of irritation with the Revised Version, so far from diminishing with time, appears rather to increase. Hitherto, indeed, while the Version has on the whole gained and held favour in Non-conformist chapels, it has made virtually no progress in Anglican churches. A clergyman here and there may be found who substitutes a correction from the Revised Version for a mistaken rendering in the Authorized; but there are very few indeed, perhaps none, who habitually read whole lessons from the Revised. And this after thirty years—a

period amply sufficient for the disappearance of ordinary prejudice.

No one, then, can be surprised that a movement has been gaining strength in favour of a new revision of the Authorized Version; a revision confined—whether wisely or unwisely we shall consider later—to the removal of actual mistakes, and the substitution of intelligible words and phrases for such as are likely to be misunderstood. Such a revision would probably make only slight changes in the Revised Version of the Old Testament, which has roused but little antagonism. But it will, in the New, revert, as far as it possibly can without serious inaccuracy, to the version of three hundred years ago.

About seven years since, a 'corrected New Testament,' fashioned on these lines, made its appearance and gained some favour; and quite recently Dean Beeching, whose English scholarship has such just repute, wrote a series of articles pointing out what he regarded as needless alteration in the Revised Version, remarking on faults of idiom due to a too slavish adherence to the Greek, and suggesting a revision of the kind we have described. For example, he would, we fancy, go back to 'For the Lord God *omnipotent* reigneth,' in place of the irritating 'almighty' of the Revisers; but on the other hand he would give us 'For our *citizenship* is in heaven' instead of the misleading 'conversation' of the Authorized Version—a rendering correct enough in 1611, but giving rise to-day to the most ludicrous misunderstandings. Similarly, doubtless, he will give us 'hinder' for 'let,' 'condemn' for 'damn,' 'cause to stumble' for 'offend,' and the like; nor will he follow the Authorized Version in its wanton confusion as to proper names. That such changes are absolutely necessary is, indeed, obvious: there are many hundreds of places in which the Authorized Version is incorrect, deceptive, inconsistent, or unintelligible; nor can any modern version, however conservative, avoid wholesale changes. If any one

doubts this, let him take up, for example, the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and after reading it carefully through ask himself whether he thinks that the translators themselves always understood what they were writing. That the ordinary careless reader *thinks* he understands, is nothing to the point. 'We have seen many devout persons serenely edified by hearing 'It shall be for those' (Isa. xxxv. 8), or 'strain at a gnat' (Matt. xxiii. 24), or 'All my springs are in Thee' (Ps. lxxxvii. 7), read with a certain degree of unction; though it is needless to say that all these sentences are without meaning, and that the last one has been given up by Prof. Cheyne himself. On the other hand, the Dean and those who agree with him do not think the changes, numerous as they must be, will be anything like as frequent or as irritating as those made by the Revisers.

Moved by these ideas, a deputation recently addressed the Archbishop of Canterbury, and put before him the case for a new Revised Version of this kind. The Archbishop, as becomes a metropolitan, was cautious in his reply; but he showed himself decidedly favourable. He suggested that experiments should be made along the proposed lines; that, for example, a translation of one of the more difficult books, such as the Epistle to the Hebrews, should be published, and that according to the reception given to it further experiments should be started. Since then his desire has, to a certain extent, been met: there has recently appeared the work by Sir Edward Clarke, the title of which heads the present article, containing the Epistles of St. Paul treated in this manner. Sir Edward is not only a great advocate, he is a devout Churchman; and his work is interesting as that of a man who represents, perhaps, the average of cultured lay opinion. He is, of course, strongly conservative in tendency; he actually preserves the ascription of the Epistle to the Hebrews to St. Paul; and his work will, therefore, probably receive correction at the hands of his successors. But we are not likely, at present,

to find a better example of the kind of work which seems adapted to satisfy the average opinion of the Church of England. His revision is meant either to be read in churches itself, or to lead the way to revisions which shall so be read; and we imagine that nothing markedly different from it will ever be so read, at least at Anglican services. And yet we confess we wish it were otherwise. While we yield to none in our admiration of the Authorized Version as a specimen of Jacobean English, we regard it as, for the purposes of the ordinary reader of to-day, a bad translation and a source of innumerable mistakes and misunderstandings. That, if it cannot cease to be read in churches, a better version, and a very different one, should be adopted for private reading and for family worship, we regard as certain. Such a paradoxical position as this, of course, requires defence; and the following pages will be devoted to defending it.

In the first place, the Authorized Version is a literal translation; and it may be laid down as a rule with hardly a single exception that a literal translation cannot be an exact one. Equivalence between one language and another, if to be found at all, is to be found in the mass and not in the detail, in the sentence (sometimes in the paragraph) and not in the word. Languages so different as English and Greek, in particular, do not admit of literal transfusion. A poem of Heine, or a page of simple Swedish, may, it is true, *sometimes* be rendered literally into English; but even in such cases the mere *sense* of one language can scarcely ever be given in the other except by considering sentences, or often blocks of sentences, as wholes rather than as aggregates of words. Much more so in the case of Greek. Take any of the standard translations—Jowett's *Plato*, Butcher's *Poetics of Aristotle*, Jebb's *Sophocles*. Have any of these men—masters of both languages as they were—made the slightest attempt to attain literality? Have they not rather, from the very desire of precision, shunned literality

like the plague? And has not their success in catching the meaning of their original—to say nothing of the transference of its spirit—been in inverse proportion to the closeness of their adherence to its letter? It is true, of course, that the Greek of the New Testament, being far simpler in construction and far less idiomatic than that of a Plato or a Sophocles, makes less demand on the subtler idioms of English; but the fact remains that the Translators of 1611 have repeatedly failed, through literality, in expressing the meaning, when a greater degree of freedom would have enabled them to give it with fair exactness. An example, already adduced by Dr. Weymouth in the preface to his *New Testament in Modern Speech*, will be sufficient to prove our case. In 2 Cor. x. 6, the Authorized Version reads, ‘And having in a readiness to revenge all disobedience, when your obedience is fulfilled’; a sentence which the scholar can only understand by thinking of the original—ἐν ἐτοιμίᾳ ἐχοντες—and which it is certain no ordinary English reader ever understood at all. How vastly more clear is the rendering of Weymouth: ‘While we hold ourselves in readiness to punish every act of disobedience, as soon as ever you as a church have fully shown your obedience’: or that of the *Twentieth Century New Testament*: ‘We are fully prepared to punish every act of rebellion, when once your submission has been put beyond doubt.’ To multiply examples would be merely to darken counsel. But one might well wonder whether such passages as the following are intelligible without a commentary: ‘It is Corban, that is to say, a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me’ (Mark vii. 11); ‘Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen’ (Heb. xi. 1); ‘But after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears’ (2 Tim. iv. 3); and a score of others. These, it may be mentioned, are passages tolerably plain in the original Greek; but, where the original is obscure, the translation is often still more so.

Thus in Jude 23: 'And others save with fear, pulling them out of the fire; hating even the garment spotted by the flesh,' no light whatever is thrown upon the darkness by the translation.

Such literalism has its advantages; but not in a work intended to be heard in churches *without comment*, nor in a work intended to be read at home by pious persons who may not be able to afford exegetical books. The fact is that, in their reasonable dread of giving too much interpretation, the Authorized translators, and the Revisers after them, have often left the reader with hardly any clue to their meaning at all.

Such a statement it may be well to buttress not only by reason but by authority. It is satisfactory then to be able to quote the opinion of that great Greek scholar, 'W. G. Rutherford, as given in the preface to his translation of the Epistle to the Romans. After adducing a dozen examples of obscurity in the English owing to excessive literality, he concludes: 'Is it fair, I ask, to the English reader to translate such idioms word for word? A man cannot return to his place after reading a lesson to an ordinary congregation without feeling that to the bulk of his hearers it would have carried almost as much meaning if he had read it in Greek. Unhappily the time is still far distant when it will become possible to prepare some sort of authoritative Targum for the use of the laity.'

But, grave as the fault of literality may be, a far more important objection to the Authorized Version, considered as a possession for the present day, remains to be made. Were all its actual errors corrected, were all its literalisms removed in favour of idiomatic renderings, there would yet be left the most serious defect of all. The Authorized Version is antiquated in style. It is probable that it always was so, for like its own successors it was intended to be not a new translation, but a revision of an older one. Based as it was on the Bishops' Bible of 1568, which itself was but a *ri/aci-*

mento of Tyndale's (1526), it perpetuated a style of writing which had already largely gone out of fashion. It would not be difficult, though it might be tedious, by instituting a comparison between the Authorized Version and contemporary prose works, to show that it was written with a *conscious* look backwards. Thus, for example, it is less pedantic but far more antique than the Douay Bible. But such a proof is beside our present point : what is relevant is that the book is *now* antiquated—a fact, of course, neither controverted nor controvertible. Most people, indeed, regard this characteristic as rather a merit than a blemish. The Revisers of 1881 have deliberately retained this feature in their own work. 'In our sparing introduction of words not found in the Authorized Version we have usually satisfied ourselves that such words were employed by standard authors of nearly the same date, and had also that general hue which justified their introduction into a Version which has held the highest place in the classical literature of our language. We have never removed any archaisms, whether in structure or in words, except where we were persuaded either that the meaning of the words was not generally understood, or that the nature of the expression led to some misconception of the true sense of the passage.' So say the Revisers in their preface; and the truth of it is manifest. They have altered 'secure' to 'rid of care,' and 'let' to 'hinder'; but they have kept the whole archaic colour of the old translation. Their rules, indeed, forbade them to change it; but it is plain they would have retained it even if no rules had been made. And it is just here that our main quarrel with them lies. Archaism is the unpardonable sin in a translation of the New Testament; *for there is nothing archaic in the original.*

There are, of course, some books which not only permit, but demand, translation in such a style. Few would deny that the best medium into which to render the *Odyssey* is language of this antiquated type: for, while to the

author himself there was, in all probability, nothing strange about his diction, which was the natural poetic diction of his time, yet there must have been something quaint and curious about it to those Greeks—let us say of the age of Aristotle—whose general culture corresponded on the whole most nearly to our own. For this reason the style in question was adopted, with great skill and success, by Butcher and Lang in their version. Similarly, the *Bhagavad Gita*, the *Mabinogion*, and Snorri's *Edda* should be thus rendered; and large portions of the Old Testament are rightly thus translated, not only in the Authorized Version but in the Revised. No one, we trust, will ever try to tell the story of Joseph in the style of Meredith, or to 'transpose' the little epic of Ruth into a version like that of Harwood, with its simplicity and poetry driven out in favour of eighteenth-century 'spirit and elegance.' But everything depends on proportion. If the most varying styles are all rendered into this one style, the whole aim of translation is lost. That the peculiar character of these very episodes may be properly appreciated, their style must be markedly different from that of other works, nay, from that of other portions of the same book; precisely as, in Arnold's *History of Rome*, the manner in which Arnold gives the early legends differs from that in which he describes the campaigns of Hannibal. 'What would be the impression made on the reader's mind if Cannae were told in the same way as the battle of Lake Regillus? Yet, by a strange fate, it is the style appropriate to legend which has been adopted, by devout and believing Christians, as suitable for describing the life of Christ. Still worse, the profound and argumentative letters of Paul are rendered as nearly as possible into the same dialect, and the philosophical character of the Apostle's mind is thus hopelessly obscured.

True, if there were anything in the original to justify this treatment, if the style of the Greek was itself poetical or archaic, it would be necessary, in the interests of faithful-

ness, to reproduce that style to the best of our ability in our own language. But, if any certainty is ever to be attained about a dead language, it is indubitable that in the original Greek of the New Testament there is nothing of the kind. It is often very difficult to ascertain the precise effect a certain style had upon its first readers and the style which our translation is to use to produce a corresponding effect upon the readers to-day. Do the neat and regular elegiacs of Ovid, for example, correspond to the couplets of Pope, and those of Propertius to the looser metrical effects of Keats or of Morris ?

But even when this insoluble question is solved, there yet remains another. Was the Roman taste that preferred Ovid to Propertius as vitiated as that of our Augustan ancestors who preferred Pope to Spenser ? If so, to translate Ovid *to-day* into Popian couplets may be passing a censure on him by the mere choice of a discredited style. In fact, a translation that suited its original two hundred years ago may be precisely the one most unsuitable now-a-days. Again, what was the exact effect produced on contemporaries of Horace by his *Odes* ? Was it in any way similar to that produced on us by the dainty and delicate, yet elaborate, poems of Mr. William Watson ? Is Virgil Miltonic, or is he Tennysonian ? All these are questions that can never be answered, and that even if answered to-day will need another answer to-morrow. But in the case of the Greek of the New Testament, while an exact answer is, of course, unattainable, a tolerable approximation can be found with fair certainty. There is, for instance, nothing antiquated, nothing poetical, nothing even highly literary, about the style of Mark. That of Luke, says Alford, is the elegant language of a gentleman of education ; not pedantically classical, but studious and elaborate in his sentences, and often complex in construction ; while he is also capable of varying his style to suit his substance. But it is safe to say that he is no more archaistic

than Bernard Shaw. With John's Gospel, again, the case is similar. John is unambitious, and never ventures into intricate sentences; and hence his style, though peculiar, is, as we know on the evidence of Dionysius of Alexandria, 'smooth and free from error'; but John would not have avoided error if he had aimed, like Lucian, at imitating the style of Plato. The style of the Apocalypse, whoever was its author, is, on the same testimony, 'not completely Greek, full of foreign idioms, abrupt, and in places showing actual solecisms.' All these are facts that admit of no denial; they are obvious to scholars to-day and asserted by Greeks of times near to that at which the New Testament was written. If any doubt existed twenty years ago, such doubt has been completely set at rest by the discovery of the Egyptian papyri, which have provided us with innumerable exemplars of every form of Greek style as it was in the first century. As far as we can know the *feel* of any ancient language, we know the feel of the Greek of the New Testament, and if anything is certain in this world it is that the New Testament, when written, was a *modern* book, striking its readers in a way totally different from that in which the Authorized Version strikes us. Its Greek, good, bad, or indifferent, narrative, hortatory, or reflective, was Greek of the day. Yet our Authorized Version, which Dr. Beeching and Sir Edward Clarke would perpetuate, gives us always the English of three hundred years ago, if not that of a still earlier date. Nay it has, perhaps, an even worse defect. It gives us practically the same style for Matthew, Mark, Paul, Peter, and Luke; a style always and everywhere dignified, poetical, and archaic, removed equally from the matter-of-factness of the plain Mark and from the gentlemanly modernity of the cultured Luke; while the rude Greek of Revelation is represented by, perhaps, the loftiest English in the whole New Testament! This is not translation, it is sublimation, or rather, to speak plainly, falsification.

But for the blinding influence of custom, we should long

ago have recognized the absurdity of such a state of affairs. There is no other book that ever has been, or ever will be, translated on such a principle; nor has the New Testament itself been thus treated in any other circumstances. No missionary, when trying to render the Bible into the language of his converts, searches for an antiquated dialect of that language, or for a form of it which must inevitably lead half his readers to misunderstand the character of the book. Nor did previous English translators conceive such a fantastic idea. The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Gospels is by various hands and of various merit. It is too often defaced by close adherence to the original Latin; but it betrays not the slightest sign of a desire to use an English different from that of contemporary prose writers. It is, not unnaturally, inferior in purity and ease of flow to the translations scattered through the *Homilies* of Ælfric; but its aim is precisely the same as that of that great master of English—to render ‘in nostram *consuetam sermocinationem*, ob aedificationem *simplicium*; ideoque,’ says Ælfric, ‘nec obscura posuimus verba, sed *simplicem Anglicam*. Nec ubique transtulimus verbum ex verbo, sed sensum ex sensu.’ The so-called Bible of Wyclif, again, though often sadly inexact in point of scholarship, is written in the pure English of its time, and (where the writer understood it himself) would have been easily understood by its hearers—as, indeed, we have observed it easily understood in a Yorkshire village even to-day. But the Bible, as presented to King James, is to go on conveying a false idea of its original. Actual mistakes, it is true, are to be corrected; but the one great mistake, in comparison with which all the others put together are as nothing, is to remain. Nay, worse: it is to increase; for every decade will make the Authorized Version more antiquated, and thus widen the interval between its tone and that of the original Greek.

But, cry the horrified conservatives, are you to destroy

the old familiar rhythm and balance? Most certainly, when the old rhythm is not that of the Greek, or when there is no rhythm at all in the original to excuse its intrusion into the version. Even in the translation of the poetry of the Old Testament, the rhythm is often false. Hear what Prof. Cheyne says of the older versions of the Psalter: 'It is not just to these precious lyrics to read them exclusively in a version several centuries old. Exquisite as the Prayer Book version may be, and possibly the Bible version, too, to ears unfamiliar with the older music, either rendering does but convey that part of the meaning and the charm which was accessible to the men of the sixteenth century. The rhythmic effect of the old versions of the Bible (on which Mr. Matthew Arnold, in *Isaiah of Jerusalem*, lays so much stress), may be admirable of its kind, but it is not the lightning-like effect of the Hebrew; the collocations of words and syllables may be effective, but they are often very far away from the sense of the original' (*The Book of Psalms Translated*, p. v). If this is true of the poetical books, what of the epistles and narratives of the New Testament?

Beauty of rhythm is, indeed, largely a matter of imagination, or of personal taste. A child admires a lilting measure, though it occur in the midst of prose, while the mature ear rejects it with disgust. Often, the 'rhythm' is merely another word for 'familiarity.' As Prof. Cheyne hinted, in the passage just quoted, the 'rhythms' of the Prayer Book version of the Psalms are usually preferred by Churchmen; those of the Authorized Version by Nonconformists of equal taste and culture: and the difference is due solely to the fact that Churchmen are familiar from their childhood with the one, and Nonconformists with the other. A glance at the suggestions of the American Revisers—men certainly not inferior to their English brethren in literary feeling—will provide other examples of the same truth. But let us assume that the rhythmical beauty is an objective reality:

does it follow that it is correctly introduced when there is no such feature in the original ? Too frequently that original has been doctored into a harmony that does not belong to it, precisely as the 'vulgarity' of Homer were doctored into elegance by Pope. We do not want our Bible without its warts.

One is, of course, familiar with the dictum of Archbishop Trenchard that there ought to be a certain strangeness in our religious language, a certain distance from the common, exactly as our ecclesiastical architecture ought to differ, and does differ, from that of our dwelling-houses. Here speaks the Church dignitary who likes his own clothing to differ from that of other men. To his doctrine we should agree so far, and only so far, as to admit that our religious language should be free from excessive colloquialism, vulgarity, meanness, loose grammar. Anything beyond this savours of superstition, and tends to foster that most fatal of beliefs, that sanctity is something apart from common life. A halo round the head of a saint, in a mediaeval picture, may have a certain symbolic meaning; but we shall never understand true saintliness until we recognize that a saint, in external circumstances and appearance, is exactly like other men. The life of our Lord Himself loses half its meaning if we do not see, and constantly constrain ourselves to realize, that externally it went on like that of other poor carpenters, and that, if He came to-day, He would wear the garb, and speak the language, of an ordinary artisan. What He came to show was just this, that the holiest of lives may be led by the most commonplace of men; that there was no need of a Stoic aloofness, or of an Epicurean ease of circumstances, to make the holy man. His divinity moved to and fro, visible indeed to the pure and to the penitent, but invisible to the worldly, who could not understand how a carpenter, the son of Joseph, with brothers and sisters like others, could claim to be a Son of God. This deadly heresy, that the kingdom of heaven

comes 'with observation,' was what He went about to combat; and it is our business to-day to beat it down by every lawful means. The Son of Man came eating and drinking, speaking the plain language of His time, dressed like the men of His time : let us do nothing to dim the plain reality of the picture.

What the halo is to the saint of mediaeval art, that the dialect of the Authorized Version is to the literary aspect of religion : it hides from us the actuality of Christ, the humanity of His apostles, and the holy commonness of their daily lives. To prove this, it is sufficient to compare the Gospel of Mark in the version of 1611 with that in the *Twentieth Century New Testament*.

To retain the phraseology of the Authorized Version, then, is not merely a piece of archaistic pedantry, like that which led Charles Fox to exclude from his *History* all words that had not the sanction of Dryden. It is to run a serious risk of throwing the life of Christ into the realm of dreamland. Told in a style which recalls that of Malory, it tends to give the impression that Nathanael is no more real than Sir Bors, that the Woman of Samaria is as phantasmal as Guinevere, and that the 'Good News' was proclaimed by its earliest teachers in a dead jargon no more significant than that of chivalry is to us. When the Apostles looked round for words in which to clothe their message, they found words strong with all the strength of youth. 'When our Anglo-Saxon ancestors set out to translate those words, they too found words which every one could understand; words which, alas ! have now lost their meaning. It is time we made an endeavour to recover the old vitality. A crying need of the present age is to realize that other ages were alive, too; that the men of the first century were men of like passions with ourselves. When they hungered, they hungered as we do; when they suffered, they suffered as we do; when they quarrelled, as they sometimes did, they spoke out straight in their mother-tongue as we do. In a word,

we have to think of them as men, and not as automata. But this we shall never do until the antique style in which a false reverence has made them speak is discarded for ever.

A version of the kind here indicated would not be easy to make. It would be hard, indeed, to steer between the Scylla of Wardour Street and the Charybdis of colloquialism: and it would require the collaboration of men of knowledge, taste, and skill. But it ought not to be impossible to collect such a body of men, and in time to produce a New Testament worthy of the original and worthy of English as it now is. One thing we believe to be highly probable, that this translation, recalling but rarely the 'familiar rhythms' of the Authorized Version, would rouse less irritation than those revisions which, retaining those rhythms as a general rule, are compelled to depart from them almost as soon as they are recalled, and inevitably therefore exasperate alike by their similarities and by their dissimilarities. That it will be an immense help to the translators themselves to be freed from a compulsory archaism, we are certain: the 'Revised' translation of the Apocrypha, and specially of the Book of Wisdom, is an analogous case that fills us with hope. Nor is there any lack of attempts already made by competent hands—attempts which may serve as models or, occasionally, as warnings. We have already referred to one or two of these: Dr. Rutherford's version of the Epistle to the Romans, Dr. Weymouth's *New Testament in Modern Speech*, the *Twentieth Century New Testament*. To these might be added the rendering of Paul's Letters by Dr. A. S. Way, that prince of translators. If our readers will compare the Authorized Version of 1 Cor. viii. with that of the *Twentieth Century New Testament*, or the Revised Version of Rom. viii. with that of Dr. Rutherford or that of Dr. Weymouth, they will see that in intelligibility at least there is no comparison. The Authorized Version is almost as obscure as if it were still Greek; the Revised not much better; while the modern

translation at least has a meaning. As to fidelity in another sense—that of giving the reader some notion of the tone and force of the original, we appeal confidently to the candid and competent scholar to tell us whether the very worst of these modern versions is not a more accurate reflection of the true St. Paul than either the Authorized Version of 1611 or the Revised of 1881.

E. E. KELLETT.

PURITANISM: ITS MERITS AND MISTAKES¹

FEW men have suffered more reviling and misrepresentation than the Puritans. They have been amply vindicated by Neal, Hallam, Marsden, Vaughan, Tulloch, Stoughton, Green, and other writers. Hallam's delineation has been heightened in colour by Macaulay, in his famous article on Milton. Archbishop Parker denounced them as 'schismatics, belly-gods, deceivers, flatterers, fools; unlearnedly brought up in profane occupations; puffed up in arrogance; disturbers, factions, wilful entanglers; girders, nippers, scoffers, biters, snappers at superiors'; and other vituperative and exaggerated terms. His successor, Whitgift, who hated them yet more bitterly, said, 'When they walked in the streets, they hung down their heads, and looked austerely; and in company they sighed much, and seldom or never laughed. They sought the commendation of the people, and thought it a heinous offence to wear a cap and surplice; slandering and backbiting their brethren.' There is no enmity so virulent as that springing out of the *odium theologicum*. Even the Puritans themselves, as will have to be subsequently shown, are not exempt from the charge; although in their case extenuating circumstances may be pleaded, for they were provoked by unjust and cruel treatment.

Falling into an opposite extreme, some of the eulogists of the Puritans are blind to evident mistakes and faults;

¹ *History of the Puritans*, by Daniel Neal, M.A. *History of Dissenters*, by David Bogue, D.D., and James Bennett, D.D. *Halley's Lancashire: its Puritanism and Nonconformity*. *English Puritanism: its Character and History*, by Peter Bayne, A.M. *The Early and the Later Puritans*, by J. B. Marsden, M.A. *The Puritan in Holland, England, and America*, by Douglas Campbell. *The Puritan in England and New England*, by E. H. Byington, D.D. *Lives of the Puritans*, by Benjamin Brook.

such as their narrowness and lack of proportion; their inconsistency and impracticalness; their magnifying of minor details; their misconception of the true functions of government; and their subordination of the freedom of the intellect to the tyranny of a verbal text. There is a tendency, also, to overlook the important difference between the Early and the Later Puritans; and between such as were high-minded and learned, and those who were ignorant zealots. After a time Episcopacy was largely commingled with Presbyterianism. This word gradually came into use as a substitute for Puritans; and was for a long time used in the wider sense. What they became, after long years of struggle, disappointment, and persecution, must not be confounded with what they were at the outset. Their original position was that the liturgy, ceremonies, and discipline of the Church of England required further reformation; that the Church, as then constituted, did not separate itself sufficiently from the old doctrine and ritual; and that it was desirable, in the interests of religion, to abandon everything that could boast of no other authority than tradition, or the will of man, and to follow as far as possible the 'pure' word of God. Hence the title of 'Puritans,' which was probably bestowed in derision, like the later word, 'Quaker.'

The name was first given, according to Fuller, in 1564, and according to Strype, in 1569, to those clergymen of the Church of England who refused to conform to its liturgy, the ritual and the vestments, as settled by the Act of Uniformity under Queen Elizabeth. But the tendency is as old as the Church itself. Puritanism is not to be accounted for by influences springing from Luther, or Calvin, or the English Continental exiles during the time of Queens Mary and Elizabeth. The root cause is much older. Wyclif is the real father of English Puritanism. His teachings, though sternly suppressed, could not be stamped out. During the reign of Edward VI, much dissatisfaction had been expressed

that the Revised Prayer Book did not go far enough. Cranmer's avowed policy was one of compromise. The difference between the First and Second Prayer Books of the reign arose from the attempt to establish a *Via Media*. The Protestant exiles from England who sought refuge in Frankfort, in Geneva, in Strasburg, in Zurich, and elsewhere on the Continent during the Marian persecution, were divided in opinion. By some, the Prayer Book was accepted as sufficient. Others favoured the Genevan Service Book, in a more advanced Protestant sense, and especially in respect to ritual. This was the beginning of disputes and difficulties that continued down to the Ejectment of 1662.

It is needful to keep the fact prominently in view that the Church of England in Tudor times was a latitudinarian experiment. The design was to secure a working scheme of regal and prelatical rule. It was not intended, and it was not possible, that either Protestants or Catholics should find in its formularies and doctrines all that they desired. The ritual was deliberately made elastic, and some portions were left vague. In districts where the people mostly adhered to the old faith and ecclesiastical practices, the Catholic aspect could be made prominent. Where Popery was a bugbear, the people were not disturbed by the obtrusion of dogmas and practices which they had outgrown. This policy of mutual concession, or of trimming, pleased no party or section. It was especially distasteful and offensive to earnest men on both sides. To ultra-Protestants it appeared no better than Romanism. To pronounced Catholics it was a schism from the communion of Christendom, of which they regarded the Pope as the head.

It might be supposed that with the conspicuous failure to enforce a strict uniformity during three reigns, statesmen and prelates would have learned the hopelessness of the attempt; but they have always been dull scholars in acquiring such lessons. Cranmer's vain attempt to discover a *Via Media* was persisted in by his successors under

Elizabeth and during the Stuart period. They overlooked the important modification that the old idea of a Church politically separate from the rest of Christendom, and yet remaining Catholic in doctrine, had in a great measure vanished. The difficulties were vastly increased. A whole generation had enjoyed the opportunity of hearing and reading the Bible in the native tongue. Rushing waves of thought and feeling, of hope and resolve, of belief and conscience, had superseded the old intellectual stagnation and moral death. Any attempt at compromise was like putting new wine into old skin bottles. Yet this attempt was persistently made. The Church under Elizabeth was an experiment designed to enable men of opposing creeds to dwell together in unity; or, at any rate in outward uniformity. The political and spiritual life of the nation was to be one and indivisible; after a rigid pattern.

Toleration was unknown; nor was it dreamed of by men of light and leading before the days of Milton and Locke, unless the contemned early Baptists dimly perceived and partly asserted the principle. The modern idea attaching to the word had not entered the imagination of the wildest sectary. It was deemed right on all hands to punish and suppress heretics and schismatics; meaning thereby all who differed from the party that chanced to be dominant. The Queen declared that 'it was not consistent with her safety, honour, and credit to permit diversity of opinions in a kingdom where none but she and her Council governed.' She lectured the two Archbishops that such diversity was 'provoking to Almighty God; grievous to herself; and ruinous to her people and country.' She had directed her people 'to obey humbly, and live godly, in unity and concord, without diversity of opinion or novelty of observances; but, to her great grief, in sundry places manifest disorder had crept into the Church.' She, therefore, peremptorily commanded Parker to confer with his colleagues, and 'by coercion and censures to maintain strict uniformity in

religion.' A Procrustean bed was provided for the national doctrine and ritual. The course of the English Reformation was determined by regal and legislative authority. Individual fervour and conviction went beyond the prescribed limits, and demanded greater changes. This was the origin and the essence of Puritanism. The name originated in reproach and scorn, as many other epithets have done; but it simply expressed the desire for a purer form of worship and for a thorough reformation in doctrine.

The Puritans believed as heartily as the Anglicans in a National Church. They claimed to be members of such a Church, and to force membership upon others. They did not deny to the civil authority a legislative and disciplinary power in religious matters, but they wished to have it exercised co-ordinately with themselves, and after their own methods. They approved of the doctrinal and ritual changes, so far as these had advanced; but complained that the work had been arbitrarily arrested, and was, therefore, incomplete and insecure. They were alarmed at the simulation of the ritual of the Romish Church, and at the almost identical teaching of some of its doctrines, which the English Church, almost alone of all the Reformed Churches, evidently favoured. Appeals to Patristic authority by their opponents were persistently met by appeals to Scripture, as the sole standard. Any one who has the patience to study the controversial folios of that time will be struck by the similarity of arguments and assertions to those used in the Tractarian movement of the nineteenth century. An objection, fatal in the eyes of the Puritans, to receiving, as authoritative, the teachings and customs of the primitive Church and the Fathers, so far as these were not explicitly enjoined in the Bible, was that it involved a kind of eclectic choice and rejection, by individual preference or judgement, out of that heterogeneous mass which Milton scornfully described as 'the drag-net of antiquity.'

For some years Puritan objections were directed chiefly

against forms, ceremonies, attitudes, genuflexions, and vestments which had been discarded by the Reformed Churches on the Continent. Slight concessions, a spirit of conciliation, and a wise and generous scheme of comprehension, might have overcome their scruples, and prevented subsequent breaches and schisms. Not until a later period did they oppose the government, the constitution, and some of the essential doctrines of the Church of England. The 'Popish apparel' was intensely disliked. Not only the Puritan clergy, but many of the laity, hated it, and, according to Whitgift—unless his statement is to be regarded only as metaphorical—would 'spit in the faces of those who wore it.' Some of the prelates also had as strong a dislike as Hooper had shown to the sacerdotal garb, because of its symbolism. Jewel compared it to scenic apparatus; and said it was 'a stage dress, a fool's coat, and a relic of the Amorites.' Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, objected to the cap and surplice. Others, like Dean Nowell and Sandys, afterwards Archbishop of York, called them 'those proud things that fools marvel at.' Grindal, while Bishop of London, was reluctant to enforce the prescribed habits. Burghley, Leicester, Walsingham, and other statesmen were of the same mind. Parker gloried in not having worn them at his own consecration; yet he drove into banishment, to prison, or to death, such as opposed external and minor things, because they formed part of a legalized, sacerdotal system which he was determined to uphold. He might as well have tried one of the fabled labours of Hercules as attempt to bend the Puritans to his will in what they regarded as matters of conscience and of duty.

Behind and beneath all these scruples and objections regarding tippets and stoles; eating pancakes on Shrove Tuesday, or hot-cross buns on Good Friday, or mince-pies at Christmas; observing certain facts and festivals; bowing at the name of Jesus; making the sign of the cross in baptism; the use of the ring in marriage; and the eastward

position of the altar, there was something else, of wide significance and profound conviction. It became marked and emphatic in the course of a few years. Puritanism was an effort, like that of Nature with a sloughing wound, to throw off superfluous and dangerous matter. It was an endeavour to rid Christianity of all adhesions foreign to its character, destructive of its power, and derogatory to its beauty. The central object was to emancipate it from the accidents in doctrine, in ceremonial, and in discipline, with which the ignorance and superstition of the Middle Ages had encrusted it. The validity of clerical administration of the Sacraments, which were supposed to possess a miraculous virtue, was associated in the popular mind with priestly garments. The Puritans, holding that the Mass was an idolatrous rite, denounced the robes, caps, tippetts, altar-cloths, and all the paraphernalia which the common people associated with the performance of a magical ceremony. The movement was a solemn protest and a severe struggle against all that was deemed Roman and corrupt. It was not so much that they objected to the outward signs, as to the things symbolized.

Whatever may be thought now of some of the points over which such prolonged and acrimonious disputation waged, and although there seemed to be an exotic and impossible virtue aimed at, the vital question was as to the supremacy of divine or human teaching; of the Bible or human tradition; of the external form or the inward spirit. The Puritans had no desire to become Separatists from the Church of England. They abhorred the name of Separatists, with all that it implied. They viewed with aversion Anabaptists, Brownists, and other factions; and would have persecuted them with as much rigour as they themselves had to endure from High Prelacy. It is one thing to claim the right of private judgement; but it is a different and difficult matter to use the right wisely, or to concede it to others. Nor were they singular. The most advanced

Reformers in Europe did not dream of standing apart from the avowed and recognized religion of the nation to which they belonged. The question was as to the specific character of the particular form of religion. They desired to give currency to their own views and to establish their own creed. Calvin in Geneva, Knox in Scotland, the Huguenots in France, the Lutherans in Germany, and the Puritans returning to England after their weary exile on the Continent, scouted as profane the right of every man to worship God after the dictates of his own conscience. Their dogmatic teaching, and their preferences in ritual, and their rigid forms of Church discipline were to be unquestioningly accepted; and, as soon as possible, were to be enforced upon others. They craved and strove for ascendancy; together with the enjoyment of ecclesiastical positions and revenues. While denying the Scripturalness of existing forms, ceremonies, vestments, and, eventually, some of the teachings of the Established Church, they did not scruple to accept its livings. Indeed, they claimed an exclusive right to them, on the plea that they alone were the true Reformers. According to their theory the Church included the entire baptized population; but the doctrines taught, the ritual observed, and the methods of discipline enforced, were to be of the Genevan type.

It is hard to see wherein this assertion differed from that of Rome, in its essence. Professing obedience in all civil concerns, they did not intend to confine the legislative and judicial powers—which they demanded the right to exercise, free of the temporal authority—to matters that common sense teaches to be strictly secular. As their censures were to be accompanied with other than spiritual consequences, they would have acquired control, not only over belief and worship, but over the business, the property, the amusements, the vices, the liberty, and even the lives of the people. No wonder that they did not gain their end. It was well for the future of England that they failed in this respect,

while succeeding in one far higher, if unsought and unexpected. They sincerely believed themselves to be right, and their opponents grievously and utterly wrong; but much of the cruelty and tyranny of the world, particularly in religious matters, have been perpetrated by those who held such a conviction. In the slow course of time, and as the result of severe struggles and of much suffering, a change has come over the public mind. It is now generally conceded that supreme importance attaches, not to what a man thinks in matters of religion, or even to what he professes to believe, or to the attire of the performing clergyman, or to the phraseology and forms of worship, but to the individual character and life in their relations to God.

Thus the chief error of the Puritans was their imperfect acquaintance with the nature of intellectual and religious freedom. They supposed that God has appointed for men in all time a defined order of ecclesiastical discipline. They held a creed that was unbending in its rigidity, and required from all others a strict conformity. They were unprepared + to grant the freedom which they claimed for themselves. Even when they suffered most, they remained implacable; not as a matter of temper, but from mistaken conviction. They remonstrated with statesmen for releasing and favouring Romanists. They passionately pleaded for liberty of conscience, and yet they denied it to others. When this is considered, though their treatment must be condemned as impolitic, harsh, and unjust, unalloyed sympathy cannot be felt for their sufferings, which were the same in kind as they would have inflicted on all who differed from themselves. It is possible to recognize their high character, great abilities, public services, and signal merits, and yet to disapprove of their spirit. It would be folly to pretend that they were immaculate; but they were unquestionably sincere; acting on Milton's sublime maxim—'As ever in my great Taskmaster's eye.' They were also loyal and patriotic; and were entitled to the equal protection of the

law. Moreover, by their resolute stand they eventually rescued England from a grinding tyranny, half regal, half prelatial. They deserve special honour for their resistance to the unconstitutional procedure, the despotism, and the cruelty of the Star Chamber and the High Commission Court, with the iniquitous and illegal *ex officio* oath imposed by the latter tribunal. They were among the unconscious founders of modern civil and religious freedom. In time, they learned the hard lesson of toleration, although not in the full acceptance of the term. As the testimony of the Primitive Church shattered the rocky despotism of the Roman Empire, so the testimony of the Puritans, and their patient sufferings, rent Tudor absolutism and the ecclesiastical tyranny that culminated with Archbishop Laud.

As the original demands of the Puritans on external and minor matters were not conceded, other and larger demands were made, as is invariably the case when reasonable reforms are resisted. In the year 1570 the institution of Episcopacy was boldly assailed by Thomas Cartwright, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. He exposed glaring abuses, denounced pluralities and non-residence as impious, and the spiritual courts as 'damnable, devilish, and detestable.' A formidable party of advanced Puritans soon arose in his support. His lectures and his books condemned all that was deemed contrary to the teaching and practice at Geneva, and led to the issue of one of the many Proclamations vainly designed to enforce the Act of Uniformity. All books and writings which denounced government by bishops as contrary to the Word of God were peremptorily ordered to be brought in within twenty days, so as to be destroyed, under pain of imprisonment. On the expiration of the time, Archbishop Parker complained that not a single copy had been surrendered. The pursuit became so hot that Cartwright sought refuge in Antwerp, where he remained for some years, carrying on an unceasing controversy with his prelatial opponents. In lieu of a

stringent Episcopacy, enforced by pains and penalties, he wished to set up within the Established Church an equally stringent Presbyterianism, enforced in like manner, but without adequate safeguards against intolerance. It was well for the future of England that such claims were not recognized, however strongly the counter-claims of High Anglicanism must be condemned and resisted.

The bane of most ecclesiastical systems has been the supposed necessity of concentrating attention upon verbal creeds and upon external rites and ceremonies. It is much easier to conform to these, or to manifest an outward reverence for them, than it is to understand the doctrines or to practise the virtues of which they are merely the types and symbols. Hence the chief stress has always been laid upon what is of the least value and the most easily professed. Forms of religion have supplanted the substance. The sterling coin of Christian charity and good works has been driven out of currency by the counterfeits of ignorance, superstition, and selfishness. Milton says: 'All the inward acts of worship, issuing from the native strength of the soul, run out lavishly to the upper skin, and there harden into the crust of formality.' It was so with the attempted settlement of the Church under Elizabeth. The Act of Uniformity was rigorously enforced. The objectionable vestments and the offensive ritual were insisted upon. Some of the best and most laborious preachers were silenced, suspended, and deprived of their livings. They were charged with disobedience to the law, with disloyalty to Her Majesty, with obstinacy and preciseness on trivial matters, and with endangering the peace both of Church and State. They pleaded that it was unjust and cruel to be turned out and ruined for things admitted to be indifferent by their opponents, but which they held to be unlawful in the sight of God, and an offence to their own consciences. They did not object to take the Oath of Supremacy. They avowed themselves dutiful subjects. They were willing to use the

prescribed liturgical services so far as they were conformable to Scripture. Their protestations availed them not. Their livings were sequestrated, and many were flung into prison, and kept there for long periods. A rigid censorship was instituted over all books and pamphlets. The only printing-presses allowed were in London, Cambridge, and Oxford, and then under the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London. This muzzling order was continued, with occasional and slight relaxations, down to 1690, and it called forth Milton's treatise, *Areopagitica; or, Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing*.

It would have been well if the spirit and temper of Richard Hooker 'the Judicious,' as displayed in his great treatise on *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, had prevailed during the next hundred years. Abuses would have found their correctives. The Church of England would have become Protestant in fact as well as in name; and terrible rents and divisions would have been spared. Intolerance and oppression brought on a tempest which rose to a hurricane, and swept over the land in the following century, because of a defective Reformation that culminated in the Divine Right of Kings, in the supposed celestial origin of Episcopacy, and in an unworkable compromise in doctrine and in usage. Moreover, it was illogical and inconsistent on the part of a Church that was itself schismatical and apostate from the great communion of Christendom unless the right of private judgement be conceded, to deny that right to others by imposing new Articles and Canons.

With the accession of James the First, the Puritans submitted what is known as the Millenary Petition, setting forth their history, grievances, and claims, and asking that a large number of specified reforms might be effected in the teaching, ceremonies, and practices of the Church. They cherished the hope of the royal favour, on the strength of the King's Presbyterian training, and of certain expressions on his part of attachment to the Kirk of Scotland.

78 PURITANISM: ITS MERITS AND MISTAKES

It speedily became manifest that he intended to make no concessions, and that a rigid uniformity would be enforced. He had wit enough to perceive that the inevitable tendency of their principles was antagonistic to the assumption of the Divine Right of Kingship and to the outrageous doctrine of Passive Obedience on the part of subjects. His measures, in concert with the prelates, towards Puritans had evidently been resolved upon before he summoned a few of their leading divines to the famous Conference at Hampton Court. Nothing came of it, or was intended to do so. He declared that if they would not conform 'he would harry them out of the land, or worse.' 'No bishop, no King,' was his favourite motto.

A Proclamation was issued, March 5, 1604, for uniformity in the use of the Book of Common Prayer throughout the realm, with a declaration that the King would 'not give way to any who presume that his judgement should be swayed by the suggestions of any light spirits.' He also enjoined the bishops to proceed against all their clergy who did not observe the prescribed Order of Service. This was the commencement of a struggle that continued to wage during the remainder of the reign, and throughout that of his son and successor, Charles the First, and culminated in the overthrow both of the monarchy and of the Church. A political and an ecclesiastical despotism was set up by Strafford and by Laud, which brought both of them to the block, and led to the convulsions, the disorders, and the misery of the Civil War. Nor did the Stuart Restoration effect a settlement of the old disputes with the Puritan party. Hollow and hypocritical assurances of 'a regard for tender consciences' on the part of Charles the Second, and his appointment of several Presbyterian clergymen as royal chaplains, with the issue of what was styled a 'Healing Declaration,' were speedily followed by a new and more stringent Act of Uniformity, and by the ejection of some two thousand clergymen from

their livings in 1662, for failure to comply with the Act.

Then followed, in swift succession, the Conventicle Act, the Five Mile Act, the Test Act and other measures of repression, until the cup of iniquity was filled to overflowing. The Stuarts were finally driven from the land they had misruled and oppressed, alike in civil and religious matters. With the setting up of the constitutional monarchy of William the Third and Mary, under the Act of Settlement, and with the passing of the Toleration Act, a new era began. To the Church of England the exclusion of Nonconformists by the Uniformity Act of 1662 proved a melancholy triumph. As Marsden says in *The Later Puritans* (p. 469): 'Religion in the Church was almost extinguished, and in many of her parishes the lamp of God went out. . . . It was the opinion of those who lived in those evil days that, had it not been for a small body of respectable clergymen who had been educated among the Puritans, and of whom Wilkins, Patrick, and Tillotson were among the leaders, every trace of godliness would have been clean put out, and the land reduced to universal and avowed Atheism.' As a result of these iniquitous measures the Church of England ceased to be national, even in name.

The aims of the later Puritans differed materially from the sartorial and spectacular disputes that marked earlier times. In some respects their views had widened. They literally held that 'the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof,' and desired that in it a spiritual realm might be established and the divine law obeyed. Scripture philosophy and the Mosaic code were applied, not always wisely, in the task of practical statesmanship. The morality of the Bible was their one standard, for the Court, for the camp, for the home, for business, for pleasure. They rejected alike the comfortable philosophy of Mr. Worldly Wiseman and the seductive blandishments of Vanity Fair. They were sometimes mistaken as to the attainment of their

ideal, and they thought the end to be nearer and easier than proved to be the case. This explains in part, though it fails to justify, the intolerance of the Puritan settlers in Massachusetts. Of their sincerity and earnestness there can be no doubt. It is not their fanaticism or their theology that makes them and the stern Covenanters of Scotland so heroic to modern eyes, but the fact that they earnestly sought after what they believed to be the truth, and accepted it, obeyed it, and suffered for it, not thinking of what was practicable or expedient, or cautiously counting majorities or minorities. This world was regarded as the vestibule to another and a better. They strove to act as denizens of a heavenly country. Personal religion was the fount spring of their daily life. Intense Calvinists, they profoundly recognized their individual duty before God. In their solemn belief, God in very deed dwelt with men upon the earth.

Possessing such convictions, they looked and laboured for a regenerated England, free from the frivolous revelries of Whitehall, from the drunken riot of the village fair or the alehouse, and from the gross profligacy of the stage. Sobriety, truth, honesty, decorum, and chastity were to prevail. The idle and the corrupt were to be aroused to a nobler life. How if these lacked the fulcrum on which a moral lever could rest and work? Suppose that they made no response to the appeal, but resisted the impulse? Then, it was replied, the aid of the magistrate must be invoked. Herein lay the danger and the snare. It has always been found impossible to raise people by compulsion above their own sense of right, or even above the average standard of the day. The attempt, however sincere, is resisted, as the Puritans discovered, to their surprise and indignation. Their own earnestness and moral elevation rendered them sometimes egotistical, visionary, unreasonable, and impractical. Without intending or perceiving it, they indulged in spiritual falsetto. Hating the common forms of

vice—often revolting, and ‘of frightful mien’—some went to the opposite pole, and became intolerant of all pleasure and recreation. Life, to them, was profoundly serious. They made no allowance for persons of inferior motives, of lower aims, and of less spiritual fervour. Restraints, voluntarily assumed by themselves, were to be imposed on others. We must not, however, judge the Puritans from the gross caricatures left by ribald playwrights and satirists. There were many brave, educated, and courteous gentlemen, like Colonel Hutchinson, exquisitely delineated in the memoir by his wife, delighting in the chase and in manly sports, enjoying the refinements of music and the arts, well read, and leaders in political and social life.

Proofs and illustrations of this exist in such works as Halley’s *Puritanism in Lancashire*, and in the second volume of Stoughton’s *Religion in England*. It is unjust and unwise to accept the current misrepresentations of opponents, and to brand Puritans as hypocrites, time-servers, morose, sour, and repellent. Instances of the kind were the exceptions. The mistake and the error lay in another direction. As they succeeded, by force of moral character, in acquiring political power, they found a strong incentive to use it for the honest but mistaken purpose of coercing the world into decorous sobriety of conduct. They revived the rigidity of the Jewish Sabbath, and would have punished all who infringed it in the slightest degree. To their sense of duty it was strange that men should regard this as morose and gloomy fanaticism or stigmatize it as cast-iron and complacent Pharisaism. When the incompetence, the ignorance, the dubious character, and, in not a few cases, the known profligacy, of many of the parochial clergy are considered, as revealed on unimpeachable testimony, it is not surprising that men of deep convictions and of true devoutness, went to the extreme of rigidity. It was a necessary and a noble thing for men to be found earnest enough and heroic enough to discharge any duty

and to submit to any suffering in the cause of truth and righteousness, and who dared to resist earthly monarchs when these ruled in a manner that was treason to the King of kings.

It is impossible to doubt that leading statesmen and prelates of the time perceived the tendency of Puritan opinions in their application to the affairs of civil government. They were determined, if possible, to prevent a catastrophe alike political and ecclesiastical. Liberty claimed in spiritual affairs was certain to lead to greater liberty being claimed in civil affairs. From the assertion that Church power should be vested in a Presbyterian Synod, it was but a step to the assertion that temporal power should be vested in a Parliament. The dogmas of Divine Right and of Passive Obedience found their most zealous champions in a legalized priesthood. It was to their interest to connect the Throne and the Church as a rallying cry, and to assert with vehemence that the one could not stand without the other. Those dogmas found their most strenuous opponents in the Early Puritans, and in their Presbyterian successors, who carried out to their logical sequence the principles and convictions imperfectly understood by their predecessors. Salutory lessons were learned in the stern school of suffering. Confessors and witnesses were also patriots and heroes. It is no small part of their renown that, with the attainment of broader and clearer views of the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, they helped to establish English liberties on an immutable basis.

Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the political course of Puritanism, as to some collateral issues involved, and as to the defects of its high qualities, there need be none as to the reality and depth of the personal religious convictions which lay at its base. The religion which Puritans professed, the interpretation of Scripture accepted, their views of duty and responsibility, were

grounded on the idea of a personal and direct transaction between God and the soul. This was essentially spiritual in its conception and aim. It was both conservative and uncompromising. If it tore down with no gentle hand the overgrowth of tyrannical and superstitious innovations, it did so under the paramount belief in and desire for the restoration of the pure temple of God on earth. If sometimes austere or narrow, it was always manly and earnest. If too grave for ordinary events, and severe on a flippant and time-serving spirit, it harmonized in temper with the extraordinary work to which it believed itself divinely called. It dealt with questions which would task the genius and the courage of the ablest and the noblest. It perished, so far as concerned the outward structure, from the convulsions it provoked, but the spirit abides in the religious and political institutions which it rescued from destruction. While honestly differing from some Puritan opinions and methods, we have no reason to be ashamed of those Puritan gentlemen who exposed themselves to imputations of disloyalty because they dared not be disloyal to God. Through disappointment and success, through victory and failure, in seasons of power and of prostration, they unwaveringly supported their 'good old cause,' leaving future generations, who are reaping the harvest which was sowed with tears and blood, and yet in faith and hope, to do justice to their merits and to be merciful to their mistakes.

W. H. S. AUBREY.

ENGLISH WRITERS AND THE MAKING OF ITALY

English Songs of Italian Freedom. With Introduction by

G. M. TREVELYAN. (Longmans. 8s. 6d.)

Vittoria. By GEORGE MEREDITH. (Chapman & Hall.)

Lothair. By the EARL OF BEACONSFIELD. (Routledge.)

MR. G. M. TREVELYAN'S new anthology, *English Songs of Italian Freedom*, comes to remind us that of the three great international crises that took place in the lifetime of men who are middle-aged now, the Civil War in America, the Unification of Germany, and the *Risorgimento* in Italy, the last is the only one that has left a permanent record of itself in English literature. And this is only what one might expect, for England, however indifferent behind the 'silver streak' to the political complications of other countries, has never quite regarded Italy as a foreign land. Even now the traveller descending from the Alps, whether through the hanging screen of chestnut and walnut woods on Monte Ceneri he catches for the first time the blue gleam of Maggiore, or whether it is the fair valley of the Dora which offers him his first sight of Italian land, may feel that he is coming to his own. He feels 'the breeze blow soft from the Land of Souls,' and a Land of Souls it is—a land where every lover of beauty finds himself in some sort naturalized.

There was singularly little division of feeling among the English writers who took the War of Italian Independence for their theme. Men took opposite sides in the American struggle and in the Franco-German War. But the cause of Italian freedom had the hearts of men as different as Disraeli and Meredith. Swinburne, the young neo-Pagan, and

Elizabeth Barrett Browning, the devout Puritan, found themselves strangely on the same side.

In Mrs. Browning's poetry we find the reflection of every phase of the struggle, from the revolt of 1848 to the death of Cavour. There is no doubt that her feelings were shared by her husband. Yet in that splendid, vivid series of poems which have so stamped his conceptions of places and people on men's minds that one can hardly now see Italy except with Browning's eyes, there is singularly little that bears on contemporary history. We are left to infer his attitude from a few lines here and there, as in that brilliantly etched Calabrian landscape, *De Gustibus*—

In a sea-side house to the further South
Where the baked cicala dies of drouth . . .
A girl bare-footed brings and tumbles
Down on the pavement green-flesh melons
And says there's news to-day; the king
Was shot at, touched in the liver-wing,
Goes with his Bourbon arm in a sling;
She hopes they have not caught the felons.

Or the aspiration which closes *Old Pictures in Florence*, for the completion of Giotto's Tower—

While 'God and the People' plain for its motto
Thence the new tricolour flaps at the sky.

The one exception is that fine poem, simple and strong as its subject, which tells of the gratitude of the hunted patriot to the peasant woman who fed and saved him. Such an incident must have occurred over and over again, when Garibaldi's followers were hunted like the partridge on the mountains after the heroic defence of Rome.

Mr. Chesterton, in his interesting volume on Browning, seems to imply that Browning's interest in Italy was rather in her present than in her past. This may be true, but at any rate it is not writ large on his poetic production. His preoccupation as a writer is with such 'old unhappy far-off things' as Pompilia's murder, Luria's suicide, or the domestic

troubles of Andrea del Sarto. What his poems bring before us is the Rome of the Renaissance Popes, the Florence of Botticelli, the Venice of Titian.

But the judgement is true without reserve of Mrs. Browning. That 'most moving and gigantic of all dramas—the making of a new nation,' was no side interest with her. It dominated and obsessed her so that she could hardly write about anything else. To her, at any rate, picture-galleries and museums meant nothing in comparison with live soldiers and politicians. She had as little of the artist in her as so genuine a poet well could have; but she was, in Wordsworth's phrase, 'a creature of a fiery heart,' and her finest things, like *The Cry of the Children*, came red-hot from the central core. She is best in her sonnets, where the limits of the form force conciseness on her; or as in a few of her shorter poems, mainly on Italian subjects, where the poem seems to make its own form, like a jet of lava cooling. The whole history of the Italian movement from 1846, when she came to live in Italy, down to 1862, when she died, might be built up out of her verses. *Casa Guidi Windows* is the story of the abortive rising of 1848 and its sequel. Few people, one would think, ever pass the plain-looking house at the top of the Via Maggio, and read the inscription on the mural tablet placed there by the grateful citizens of Florence, without repeating to themselves those beautiful opening lines—

I heard last night a little child go singing
'Neath Casa Guidi windows by the church,
'O bella liberta.'

It is all there, the hope and the disappointment, the moment of general gladness when the Grand Duke granted a constitution to his people, and when Pius IX stood forth as a liberal Pope, the symbol of Italian unity—and then the fiasco of the year that followed, the collapse of Lombardy, the failure of Florence, the piled corpses on the Roman barricades.

O Tuscany,
 O Dante's Florence, is the type too plain?
 Didst thou too only sing of liberty
 As little children take up a high strain
 With unintentioned voices, and break off
 To sleep upon their mother's knees again?

Yet it is to a child that she turns for consolation in the dark hour of Italy. Her 'own young Florentine,' the baby toddling with uncertain feet over the floor of Casa Guidi with the sunlight in his curls, is an unconscious prophet of the better days to be.

We sit murmuring for the future though
 Posterity is smiling on our knees,
 Convicting us of folly.

Throughout it is as a woman, of simple, almost primitive feeling, that she writes. Giotto and Dante make their appearance in her verse as a matter of course; yet one hardly feels that these great names are more than names to her. Her voice takes another accent when she speaks of Cavour or Garibaldi, or that unlucky Napoleon III, whom the maternal instinct prompted her to pity and defend when all her world was attacking him. It is the voice of the women of Italy that she makes you hear in her songs of the *Risorgimento*. There is the girl who sends her young lover to his death for Italy's sake—

I love thee; it is understood,
 Confest, I do not shrink or start,
 No blushes—all my body's blood
 Has gone to greaten this poor heart
 That, loving, we may part.
 And thus of noble Italy
 We'll both be worthy. Let us show
 The future how we made her free,
 Not sparing life . . . nor Giulio . . .
 Nor this . . . this heartbreak. . . . Go.

There is the ballad of the Court Lady, one of the many great ladies of Milan who went in their court dresses and jewels to do honour to the wounded patriots in the hospitals

during the war of 1860. There is the tender lilt of the lament for the young Venetian, who was forced to join the Austrian ranks, and was found, with unloaded musket, among the dead at Solferino.

As orphans yearn on to their mothers,
He yearned to your patriot bands,
'Let me die for our Italy, brothers,
If not in your ranks, by your hands.

Aim straightly, fire steadily, spare me
A ball in the body which may
Deliver my heart here, and tear me
This badge of the Austrian away.' . . .

'Twas sublime. In a cruel restriction
Cut off from the guerdon of sons,
With most filial obedience, conviction,
His soul kissed the lips of her guns.

Then there was the poem in which the happy mother, 'her arm round her own little son,' found words for the grief of the other mother and poet, who had given both sons to her country, and found herself in the hour of that country's triumph, most desolate.

Dead, one of them shot by the sea in the east,
And one of them shot in the west by the sea,
Dead, both my boys. When you sit at the feast,
And you want a great song for Italy free,
Let none look at *me*.

She was no blind worshipper of Garibaldi, yet in the verses that bear his name, she has left an enduring monument of what was perhaps the noblest moment in the hero's life—that moment when, though cut to the heart by the cession of his native province to France—

The little house 'his' father knew,
The olives and the palms of Nice—

he refused to let the personal grief and loss deter him from the accomplishment of his work for Italy, or break his allegiance to the man who stood for Italian Unity.

My King, King Victor, I am thine.
 So much Nice-dust as what I am
 (To make our Italy) must cleave.
 Forgive that. Forward with a sign
 He went. You've seen the telegram?
Palermo's taken, we believe.

With some women married happiness is the end of the personal striving of the artist. It was Mrs. Browning's great good fortune that the same event which completed her happiness as a woman gave the right setting and the true opportunity to her genius. Chained to her sofa in a Marylebone back drawing-room, she might have sunk more and more into mid-Victorian pettinesses and prettinesses. Taken out into life and sunshine, into the very heart of a great national movement, she lived a life which—if it did not make a careful artist of her, if it did not prune her style, improve her ear, or correct her astonishing lapses of taste, yet gave her noble matter of which to sing. In force, elevation, and directness, these Italian poems stand almost at the summit of her achievement, only a little way below the *Sonnets from the Portuguese*.

Her passion for Italian freedom was a wine too strong for the frail vessel which held it. The death of Cavour on June 6, 1861, dealt her a mortal blow. 'A hundred Garibaldis for one such man,' she cried. 'If tears or blood could have saved him, he should have had mine.'

The author of *The Disciples* might be called in a sense the official laureate of the *Risorgimento*. She was a child of eighteen or twenty when she wrote some of the *Poems for Italy* included in the Aspromonte volume.

High on Aspromonte flashed the red shirts early,
 Up in the midst of them the glory of his face.
 Low on Aspromonte ere the day was over,
 He was down and bleeding, bound in piteous case.
 Hands of brothers poured that crimson, nevermore
 Blood can wash it from the holy tricolour.

In these verses there is a lift of inspiration, a real vision of the great chief as he appeared to his soldiers, with his lion

face and mane of tawny gold. Mazzini and Garibaldi, the Soul and Sword of the new Italy, are commemorated together in *The Disciples*, the book which, as she tells us, was written in obedience to Mazzini's request. The fulfilment of the task was delayed by suffering, and completed in suffering at last.

As the swan who has passed through the spring
And found it snow still in the wild north land,
And over perilous wilds of northern seas,
White wings above the white and wintry waves,
Has won, through night and battle of the blasts,
Breathless, alone, without a note or cry,
Sinks into summer by a land at last;
And knows his wings are broken, and the floods
Will bear him with them whither God shall will,
And sees the salt and shining marshes spread
Before him outward to the shining sea.

The book commemorates some noble feats of arms; but the burden of it is Mazzini's prophetic message of redemption through suffering, and she dwells more on what her heroes endured than on what they did.

In this mood of mystic exaltation she sat down to write the story of the Disciples of Mazzini, of Ruffini, his first and best-loved friend, who died in a Piedmont prison in 1833; of the friar Ugo Bassi, shot in 1848 by the Austrians at Bologna, and of Nicotera, deported to the dungeon of Favignano after the futile Sicilian expedition of 1857.

The essence of the poem is found in the 'Sermon in the Hospital' supposed to be preached by Ugo Bassi in Rome. It summons Christian men to consider 'that life of the Vine whereof they are partakers,' a life that lives by spending itself even to the uttermost. The grapes must be crushed and trodden underfoot if the new wine is to flow. So every great soul is made perfect by suffering; every great purpose is wrought out through much tribulation.

Measure thy life by loss instead of gain,
Not by the wine drunk but the wine poured forth,
For love's strength standeth in love's sacrifice,
And whoso suffers most hath most to give.

It is the special glory of Mazzini that he was able to draw hundreds of hearts after him with so exacting a message as this. The man who was accused of wasting the lives of his followers in fruitless revolts believed in his heart that the blood of these young martyrs was the seed of freedom. He might have said with truth that the life he lived in exile, loneliness, obloquy, poverty, was harder than any death. But the miracle was not that he believed his own message, but that the mothers, wives, and sweethearts of those he sent to death believed it too.

What bloom of hope was there when Austria stood like an iron wall, and their own ones dashing against it were as little feeble waves that left a red mark and no more? But duty to their country had become their religion; sacrifice they accepted as their portion; when the last stern evil befell them they clad themselves in a veil, and walked upon an earth they had passed from for all purposes save service of hands. Italy revived in these mothers. Their torture was that of the re-animation of her form from the death-trance.

(Meredith, 'Vittoria.')

Even so, when the Roman Republic fell, Garibaldi offered to those desperate souls who elected to take their last chance with him, 'thirst, famine, forced marches, death, but never surrender.' In *The Disciples* the poet gives us Ugo Bassi's share in that terrible adventure which Mr. Trevelyan has retold in moving prose. She shows how Garibaldi's grim forecast was wrought out, till he had left his wife and babe in their lonely grave under the pines, and till Ugo Bassi had been carried, still faint from the torture of the Austrian rods, to die under Austrian bullets at Bologna.

According to her account, his pious executioners hesitated to do a priest to death, till assured by Italian ecclesiastics that the patriot was *de facto* excommunicated. So he died, like Joan of Arc, appealing from the official Church to the Church's Lord. The Roman Church in France has lately attempted to annex Joan of Arc; perhaps the day will come in which the official Church of Italy will canonize Ugo Bassi.

The Disciples presents the story of the siege of Rome through the golden haze of an idealizing passion. It appears in Clough's *Amours de Voyage* in the clear dry light of a critical intelligence. The book was written

In a Roman chamber

When from Janiculan heights thundered the cannon of Rome.

It jars on one distinctly to find the tragic episode which revived the ancient glory of Republican times used as the background to a mild early Victorian love-story. At the same time the personal impressions given here and in Clough's letters are all the more valuable, because so detached.

Clough, who had come to Rome on a visit, was detained by the French invaders much against his will, and bewailed his fate in melodious hexameters.

Tibur is beautiful, too, and the orchard slopes, and the Anio
Falling, falling yet, to the ancient lyrical cadence,
Tibur and Anio's tide; and cool from Lucretilis ever,
With the Digentian streams, and with the Bandusian fountain,
Folded in Sabine recesses, the valley and villa of Horace.
So, not seeing I sung,—so now, nor seeing, nor hearing,
Neither by waterfall lulled, nor folded in sylvan embraces . . .
But on Montorio's height, with these weary soldiers by me
Waiting till Oudinot enter, to re-instate Pope and tourist.

The poem is full of his rather joyless philosophy—

Faith I think does pass, and love; but knowledge abideth,
Let us seek knowledge, the rest may come and go as it happens,
Knowledge is hard to seek and harder yet to adhere to.

This bleak attitude of mind is as different as possible from Mazzini's, and therefore his testimony to the virtues of the short-lived Republic is the more remarkable.

'Whether the Roman Republic will stand or not' (he wrote) 'I do not know, but it has under Mazzini's guidance shown a wonderful courage and a wonderful generosity.'

And again—

I, who nor meddle nor make in politics, I who sincerely
Put not my trust in leagues nor any suffrage by ballot,

Never predicted Parisian millenniums, never beheld a New Jerusalem coming down dressed like a bride out of heaven Right on the Place de la Concorde—I, nevertheless, let me say it, Could in my soul of souls, this day, with the Gaul at the gates, shed One true tear for thee, thou poor little Roman Republic. France, it is foully done!

Looking back after sixty years, can we think Clough's judgement anything but deserved?

When George Meredith, a novelist without a public, and a working journalist, was sent by a provincial newspaper to report the campaign of 1848-9 in Lombardy, no one imagined that he was gathering materials for one of the great books of the century. He went over the ground of the Lombard campaign, the same ground that he makes Vittoria and Laura Piaveni follow, in the wake of the two armies with the ambulance carriage. His journalistic reports were not particularly striking, but the novel of *Vittoria* remains as one of the most notable results of the movement, so far as England is concerned. No one of Meredith's novels is so full of rapid action, so vivid and brilliant as this. *Richard Feverel* may be more tragic, *The Egoist* richer in subtle comedy, and *Diana of the Crossways* better composed, but none of them is so absorbing, so delightful, or has so much of the real witchery of romance. The chapters which deal with Vittoria's *debut* at La Scala, her flight from Milan, and the duel in the pass between Angelo and Weisspriess are of very high romantic quality, and exhibit the idealistic and chivalrous side of the rising of 1848. The youths who held up the stage curtain above Vittoria's head at La Scala while she sang her great song with its burden, 'Italia shall be free,' and the musician who composed the opera, with its thinly veiled patriotic message, had their prototypes in real life. Luciano Romara is the young Milanese nobleman, Manara, who led the gallant band of Lombard volunteers to the defence of the Roman Republic. Laura Piaveni is said to have been modelled on a hint taken from that extraordinary personage, the

Princess Belgiojoso, the most affected, the most coquettish, and one of the most fascinating women of her day. Heine and Musset were both in her train at Paris, and Musset's bitter lines on her—'*Sur une Morte*'—are well known. The most genuine thing about her was her love of her country. During the siege of Rome she organized the hospital services with splendid energy and devotion.

Barto Rizzo, the 'Great Cat,' had probably more than one original. Perhaps, according to Mr. Bolton King, he was taken from Bartelloni, the butcher of Leghorn, a popular leader who also had the 'Cat' for his nickname. Count Medole, the timid jealous nobleman, stands for a type of the Milanese aristocrat with national sympathies. Agostino is the typical man of letters as revolutionist. And in contrast with them both is Pericles, the man of no country and no faith, whose only devotion is for the beautiful voice which he has discovered and which he adores with an enthusiasm that is grotesque and almost sublime.

For all Meredith's strongly Italian sympathies, he was too genuinely a creative artist, and too large-minded, to write like a mere partisan. His Austrian officers and privates are not the brutal fiends that excited national feeling painted them. They bear themselves very much like an English army of occupation, with honour and good feeling towards those they recognize as equals, with stupidity rather than malice towards those it is their business to keep in order. General Pierson might be a Colonel in the Indian army; the fire-eating Major Weisspriess has his amiable side.

Meredith does not conceal the unscrupulousness of some of the patriot leaders, or that fanaticism which leads men in times of crisis to sacrifice their affections and even their principles. The brother patriots, the Guadascari of Bologna, have no pity on their young sister, who has encouraged an Austrian lover. 'It will be better for you to die,' they tell the terrified girl, 'but if you cannot do so

simple a thing as that prepare widow's garments.' And so Clelia takes her own life, and the Austrian youth is killed in a duel forced upon him by the brothers in the chamber where she is lying dead. One of the authors of this tragic deed is Vittoria's gentle and chivalrous protector in her flight through the mountains to Meran.

Laura Piaveni cannot understand why Vittoria should shrink from using all her woman's wiles to induce her one-time lover to connive at Angelo's escape. Here we may fancy we hear the Princess Belgiojoso speaking—the woman who used the natural weapons of her sex without scruple to advance the cause of Italy. 'For the space of one week you are asked for some natural exercise of your wits and compliancy. It gives me horrors to find it necessary to entreat you to look your duty in the face and do it, that even three or four Italian hearts may thank you.' So Vittoria stoops to play coquette and trick her womanhood with false allurements. The Austrian officer is lured from his duty, Angelo is suffered to escape, and then Vittoria has to nerve herself to 'do the cruel thing which is least cruel,' and throw away the instrument which has done its work. *Tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner*, and Meredith makes us understand.

The flaw in this brilliant piece of work is in the central figure. 'Vittoria' is a poor successor of the adorable 'Emilia.' Laura, the Guadascari, the vain, fickle Wilfred, the Lenkenstein sisters, to say nothing of the minor characters, are all more vividly realized. But, in fact, the heroine of the book is not Vittoria at all, but Young Italy, the heroine whom the great *prima donna* impersonates on that glorious night at La Scala.

I cannot count the years
That you will drink like me
The cup of blood and tears
Ere she to you appears,
Italia, Italia shall be free.

She asks you but for faith,
 Your faith in her takes she
 As draughts of Heaven's breath
 Amid defeat and death,
 Italia, Italia shall be free.

I enter the black boat,
 Upon the wide grey sea,
 Where all her set suns float,
 Thence hear my voice remote,
 Italia, Italia shall be free.

Vittoria was published in 1866, four years before Disraeli's *Lothair*. Yet while Meredith's book is as fresh as the day it was written, *Lothair* is dated like a gown of last year's fashion. It is interesting for its picture of the welter of revolutionary intrigue in the fifties; and it throws some light on the terrorism kept up by the secret societies which certainly did something to influence Napoleon III in his attitude towards the Italian question. The Roman heroine, Theodora, walks through her part with dignity, and her last interview with Lothair is not without pathos. But the Italian part of the book is chiefly a satire on Ultramontane 'casting of nets,' and has not much to do with the *Risorgimento*.

There is a truly Disraelian touch in the description of the state of feeling in Rome when the Garibaldians were gathering on the borders of the Papal States in the autumn of 1867. 'The Jews in their quarter said nothing, but exchanged a curious glance, as if to say, "Has it come at last? And will they indeed serve her as she served Zion?"' 'The Government made some wild arrests of the wrong persons,' and the only people who showed much courage seem to have been the ladies of the Papal party, 'who scraped lint for the troops as incessantly as they offered prayers to the Virgin.'

But the most permanent and precious result of the *Risorgimento* in English letters will be found in all probability in 'A Song of Italy' and certain of the poems

in *Songs Before Sunrise*. Swinburne went to visit Landor at Florence on leaving Oxford, and his Republican faith owed something to Landor, but more to Mazzini. Meredith painted him in his brilliant youth, under the obvious alias of 'Tracy Runningbrook' with 'hair as red as blown flame' and eyes 'of the grey-green hue that may be seen glistening over wet sunsets.' The friendship between him and Sandra Belloni is the happy *camaraderie* of two great artists, and we are made to understand that what partly attracts him in her is that she is a true daughter of the land he loves.

A Song of Italy was written in 1867, when Cavour and Garibaldi had completed the work that Mazzini inspired, and united Italy was an accomplished fact. This long poem is a marvel of virtuosity in the variety of the metrical effects; all through the long succession of rhymed iambic couplets there is never a hint of monotony. Not less marvellous is the mastery of vivid pictorial phrase with which he evokes great scenes and great names, to weave them into a crown of praise for his hero and prophet—he who

Upbore in holy hands the babe unborn
Through loss and sorrow and scorn,
Of no man led, of many men reviled,
Till lo, the new-born child,
Gone from between his hands, and in its place
Lo, the fair mother's face.

The poet calls on the martyrs of Italian freedom—

O fallen faces and O souls arisen,
Praise him from tomb and prison.

He calls on the hills crimsoned with flaming sunsets, the snow of the Alps and the woods of the Apennines, to salute him with the green, red, and white of the holy tri-colour. He calls on noble Brescia, imperial Milan, Mantua, the home of Virgil, Genoa, the birthplace of Columbus, sacred Venice and beloved Florence, to join the great hymn of deliverance and gratitude.

Songs Before Sunrise contains the fine sonnet on Michael Angelo's statue of Night in the Medici Chapel of Florence. Standing before that colossal figure, reclined in troubled slumber and 'vext with waste dreams,' he recalls that terrible quatrain in which Buonarrotti, despairing of freedom, exhaled the bitterness of his heart—

Caro m'e l sonno e piu l'esser di sasso
Mentre che'l danno e la vergogna dura;
Non veder, non sentir, m'e gran ventura,
Pero non me destar, deh, parla basso.¹

While the shame of Italy lasted it was indeed well to sleep, but now that the day of deliverance has dawned at last—

Will not yet thine angel bid thee wake?

Another mood speaks in 'A Year's Burden,' with its Aeschylean refrain—

From days laid waste across disastrous years,
From hopes cut down across a world of fears,
We gaze with eyes too passionate for tears, . . .
Cry wellaway, but well befall the right.

But the crowning song of all is the magnificent paean, 'By the Waters of Babylon,' in which with a splendour of verbal melody that has never been surpassed, he sets forth the faith and gospel of the Makers of Italy—

Unto each man his heritage, unto each his crown,
A just fate gives,
Whoso takes the world's life on him and his own lays down,
He dying so lives. . . .

On the mountains of memory, by the world's well springs,
In all men's eyes,
While the light of the life of him is on all past things,
Death only dies.

Not the light that was quenched for us, nor the dead that were,
Nor the ancient days,
Nor the sorrows not sorrowful, nor the face most fair,
Of perfect praise.

DORA M. JONES.

¹ Well for me that I can sleep, and better that I am of stone, so long as misfortune and shame endure. Not to see, not to hear, is to me great good fortune. Wake me not then; ah, speak low.

THE APOCALYPSE

A STUDY OF METHODS

1. *Revelation in the Expositor's Greek Testament.* By DR. JAMES MOFFATT. (Hodder & Stoughton, 1910.)
2. *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1895), and his later work. By GUNKEL. (1903.)
3. *Primitive Christianity.* By OTTO PFLEIDERER. Vol. III. E. T. (Williams & Norgate, 1910.)

IN his *Thread of Gold* Mr. A. C. Benson speaks of 'the august dreams' in this book of visions. 'The lives of all men that have an inner eye for beauty are full of such mysteries, and surely there is no one, of those that strive to pierce below the dark experiences of life, who is not aware, as he reckons back the days of his life, of hours when the seals of the book have been opened. . . . Throughout the book runs a strain of unearthly music interpreting the hopes and fears of the heart by haunted glimpses and obscure signs.' The book of Revelation, like the greater unwritten book of religion, demands a mystic to understand it rather than a critic to analyse it. But mysticism does not involve obscurantism. We part company with Mr. Benson when he says: 'I do not desire that these tapestries of wrought mysteries should be suspended on the walls of history.' Modern research does not diminish the mystical value of the book by making it more intelligible. The claim also may fairly be made that in the last half-century the veil that has lain so long on the face of the Apocalypse

has been partially lifted.¹ New methods of interpretation have been adopted since the famous Dr. South said that 'the more it was studied, the less it was understood, as generally either finding a man cracked, or leaving him so.'

I. The first method of interpretation views the Apocalypse as belonging to a remarkable *genre* of literature.² Other apocalypses flourished, both before and after the time of Christ, and it is only by using them as lighted candles that the mysterious gloom of the canonical book can be pierced.

The apocalypses were 'Tracts for bad times,' and owing to the darkness of the outlook the scene of God's glory is transferred to 'the age to come.' 'The whole circle of Apocalyptic ideas is concentrated in the one abstract antithesis between αἰὼν οὗτος and αἰὼν μέλλων—this age, and that which is to come.'³ This dualism of thought involved a complete pessimism with regard to the immediate present. Prophecy had still believed that this world is God's world, wherein His goodness and truth would yet be justified. Apocalyptic, the handmaid of prophecy, saw that the distress of the time was not a mere temporary reverse but a permanent oppression, only to be terminated by the great final catastrophe, and therefore took a view of the world's history indefinitely wider than that of prophecy.⁴ They were confronted with great world-powers, and in order to vindicate the ways of God to Israel, it was a new world-order

¹ The critical assumptions made in the course of the following sketch are that the book dates from the reign of Domitian (see Moffatt, *Historical N. T.*, p. 461; Green, *Ephesian Canonical Writings*, p. 186 ff.); that the book must be regarded as a unity (Joh. Weiss, *Die Offenbarung Johannis*, s. 6, Pfeiderer, iii., p. 408). The question of authorship is, strictly speaking, irrelevant to our present purpose.

² The method is usually tracked to Lücke (1832), who was the first to systematize it. See F. C. Porter, *Messages of the Apoc. Books*, p. 460.

³ Bousset, *Die jüdische Apokalyptik*, s. 15.

⁴ Charles, *Eschatology*, pp. 173-5.

which was to supersede these old world-powers. Apocalyptic broke down the barriers of merely national thought and aspiration. 'Israel is still the central figure, but its foes are the foes of humanity, its redemption the redemption of the creation.'¹

The self-distrust and pessimism in regard to 'this age,' resulted in curious literary phenomena. The writings were generally pseudonymous, purporting to come from some hero-saint of the past. Free use was also made of previous material.² But if Apocalyptic was the handmaid and interpreter of prophecy, she often dressed her mistress in a garb that would have astonished her. Certain conventional symbols were freely used. In our own Apocalypse almost every verse has its mysterious figure, number, name or incident. In many cases we shall never recover the true explanation, but to those who had before them the full apocalyptic literature of the day, much no doubt was clear which to us is unintelligible.

The comparison of the Apocalypse with the other extant specimens of this class of literature has two results. On the one hand we are warned not to lay too much dogmatic stress on a book which has been for centuries an inexhaustible treasure-house for the adherents of strange doctrines and impossible faiths. If it is proved that the apocalyptist borrowed a doctrine from his predecessors, that doctrine has obviously not the same claim on the Christian consciousness as in days when the whole book was thought to be written, as it were, by the very finger of God. Take the doctrine of the Millennium. Charles says that the idea of a temporary Messianic kingdom was unknown till the beginning of the first century B.C. Its limitation to a thousand years is first found in Slavonic Enoch xxxii. and xxxiii. The doctrine of the Millennium is not taught elsewhere in the New Testament, and its acceptance is made

¹ Bacon, *Intro. to N. T.*, p. 232.

² Swete's *Apocalypse*, cxxxv.

impossible in the other definite doctrinal systems of the last things in the New Testament. Dr. Charles concludes that this or any other form of the temporary Messianic kingdom cannot be said to belong to the sphere of Christian doctrine.¹

On the other hand, the use of this method brings out the uniqueness and incomparable value of the Apocalypse. In the first place the book is not pseudonymous. The John who writes does not purport to be a figure of the dim past, but a well-known and living Christian.² By this abandonment of a long-established tradition, John claims for himself the position of a *prophet* who consciously draws his inspiration from Christ, and therefore does not need to seek shelter under the aegis of some Biblical saint. The cleavage goes deeper than obvious differences of literary form. The book is *profoundly Christian*.³ 'The enduring religious value of the work lies in the energy of faith which it displays, in the splendid certainty of its conviction that God's cause must ever be the best, and is inseparable from the cause of Jesus Christ.'⁴ Victory and vindication are no longer in the future, for the Christ of the Apocalypse is already triumphant and glorified. At the same time, there is a tenderness of spirit, a recognition of the meaning and value of suffering, and a love of the brethren for which we should look in vain in the pages of Baruch or Enoch. The essential Christianity of the book means that the apocalyptic pessimism almost vanishes. The writer could triumphantly dedicate his book 'to Him that loveth us and hath loosed us from our sins,' and could sound the trumpet note of Christian joy in the very face of the storm of persecution which had already broken over the Church. Even when he felicitates

¹ Op. cit., p. 350.

² Wernle, *Beginnings of Christianity*, takes the opposite view, i. 363.

³ Swete, xxv. See Rev. i. 5.

⁴ Jülicher, *Intro. to N. T.*, p. 266.

the dead in xiv. 18, his thought is not that death is happier than life under the circumstances, but that if death came in the line of religious duty, it involved no deprivation. In Apoc. Baruch (xi. 7) the dead are pronounced blessed because they saw not Jerusalem ruined and Zion desolate. 'Blessed is he who was not born, or who, being born, has died.'¹ It is the distinction of the Apocalypse that 'no plaintive weary cry of *Weltschmerz* rises from its pages.'²

The first method is the root and ground of two others. St. John's Apocalypse, like its fellows, is a 'Tract for the Times.' Thence we expect allusions to contemporary history. The freest use is also made of traditional material. The discussion of the origin of this material leads to the third method.

II. *Die zeitgeschichtliche Methode.*³ Gunkel says that this method may mean (i) that in the pictures of the Apocalypse, historical events and persons are artistically portrayed; (ii) that the prophecy of the Apocalypse, like all biblical prophecy, is fixed by the circumstances of the time and limited by the author's view of those circumstances; (iii) that the Apocalypse, like every other book, must be elucidated by the ideas and circumstances of its own time. Gunkel would have no quarrel with the third and little with the second definition, but on the first he declares war. The following exposition seeks, however, to show that the use of the method as understood in the third definition leads inevitably to the recognition of the artistic portrayal of historical events or persons in the book.

The greatest merits of Deissmann's work is the incidental light thrown on New Testament writings, and our true mode

¹ Charles' edition and translation, x. 6.

² Moffatt on xiv. 13.

³ The German names have been retained as headings; it is impossible for an Englishman to translate or improve on these compound words in scientific research.

of approaching them. (a) Deissmann¹ points out that the Apocalypse is, strictly speaking, an *Epistle*. It has in i. 4 an epistolary praescript with a religious wish, and in xxii. 21 a conclusion suitable for an epistle. But there are epistles within the one epistle. They are not real letters, (to use Deissmann's distinction) sent separately to the seven churches and afterwards collected. All seven seem rather to have been written with an eye to the whole, and are to be read and taken to heart by all the churches, not only by the one named in the address.

Now what is important for our present purpose is to notice that these smaller epistles are, as Deissmann would say, *letter-like* in form—i.e. the writer wishes to gain certain ends with the single churches, and at the same time to influence the whole body of Asiatic Christians. Hence the letters abound in allusions to local characteristics and to contemporary events. But if the local Christian read the smaller letters in this way, he would naturally interpret the book as a whole on similar principles. It would be impossible for him to avoid seeing here and there a reference to the Roman empire or to current heresies. In fact, the epistolary character of the work demands the employment of the *zeitgeschichtliche Methode*.²

(b) The *popular* character of the Apocalypse.

If Deissmann had achieved no other result he would deserve gratitude for having demonstrated beyond dispute that the New Testament is the book of the *people*. Next to the words of Jesus Himself there is no part of the New Testament so *popular* in tone as the book of Revelation. Deissmann says,³ 'This last is passionately popular in character, written with the passionate earnestness of a prophet who speaks the popular language of his time and

¹ *Light from the Ancient East*, E. tr., p. 287.

² Cf. 'The man of sin' in 2 Thess., where the Second and the Third Methods must be combined in any sound exegesis—as by Bousset.

³ p. 242.

who is familiar with the images created by the popular imagination of the East.'

This is certainly the right point from which to grasp the effect of the Apocalypse. It belongs to the world where the common people of all time and the children of every age are at home.

The people of Asia Minor could not help applying the imagery of the Apocalypse to their own situation, as surely as the American poet reads into Millet's *Man with the Hoe* all the pent-up inarticulate passion of nineteenth-century democracy. It is too often assumed by Pfeleiderer and Gunkel that a story or an image from popular mythology is employed in the Apocalypse merely because it *was* part of the tradition, and not because it was a part of a tradition that served the writer's purpose. This purpose was primarily to strengthen and encourage the faith of the Asiatic Christian in special circumstances of severe strain and impending persecution, by describing the approaching end, and the signs which were to precede the end. Hence the *popular* character of the Apocalypse necessitates the use of the *zeitgeschichtliche Methode*.

(c) The *polemical* character of the Apocalypse.

Deissmann¹ throws new light on the way in which the Apocalypse is permeated and sustained by hostility to the Caesar-cult. The passion that breathes in the cryptic mention of the number of the beast is more readily appreciated when we read the inscriptions which speak of Nero as god, and as the good god.² 'The Lord's day' as a name for Sunday may very possibly be connected with conscious feelings of protest against the cult of the Caesars with its Emperor's Day. Jesus in the Apocalypse is, above all, the King. Deissmann quotes Weinel to show that in this age to confess the *kingdom* of Jesus was to set vibrating a tense political feeling against the Caesars. Deissmann has

¹ pp. 342 ff.

² p. 349.

supported with fresh and striking illustrations the thesis originally suggested by Mommsen,¹ that the origin of the Apocalypse is to be explained by the conflict of Christianity with the Caesar-cult. This inevitably involves the employment of the Second Method.

That the Second Method must be employed may now be regarded as firmly established and generally accepted. But the question of its limits calls for discussion. Gunkel lays down the canon² that it should only be employed when the reference to contemporary history is self-evident. This assumption is ambiguous. If it means that the interpretation must be obvious to the modern reader, this is, of course, totally untenable, in view of our ignorance of the environment of the book. If the idea is that the interpretation must be self-evident to the Asiatic Christian of the first century, such a principle can only be accepted under certain modifications. (1) In the first place the book was originally intended as a mystery to be pondered, and not as a picture to be seen. Mysteries and allegories were dear to the heart of the primitive Christian. Even the simple parables of Jesus were evidently not clear to those who heard them. The object of Jesus may have been to set men thinking, as the early tradition would have us believe, or it may be that the early Church unconsciously invented this motive for the parables.³ In any case this illustration of the parables shows that *a fortiori* the fantastic symbols of the Apocalypse are not necessarily to be interpreted so that the contemporary allusion is at once obvious. (2) It is always possible that the seer may have intended to refer to the history of his own time without himself being clear as to the precise details of the interpretation.⁴ We are dealing with an Eastern work

¹ Joh. Weiss, *Forschung*, p. 6, calls this suggestion of Mommsen, die epochemachende Fingezeige. See Bousset, *Kommentar*, s. 154-163, especially s. 157.

² *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 349. ³ See Jülicher, art. 'Parables' in *E. Bi.*

⁴ e.g. this suggestion may hold good with regard to parts of chapter xii, whatever the ultimate origin of the imagery there used.

'with something of barbaric unrestraint about it all,' and the Eastern mind is not always careful to make its meaning obvious or self-consistent. (3) There was a danger in declaring openly the sentiments which the Christians entertained towards the Roman power. This fact may have resulted in allusions to current events which were not only veiled, but also hard to interpret. (4) The exegete must not lose sight of the possibility that many other local circumstances would enable the Christian to decipher the mystery. In spite of Ramsay's diligence, our knowledge of the Churches of Asia is severely limited.

In accordance with his presuppositions, Gunkel maintains that the Second Method in his first definition of it, is bankrupt ¹ apart from certain passages in chapters xiii. and xvii., and he even makes inroads on these. His reference of the number of the Beast to Tiamat ² is ridiculed by recent commentators, and inasmuch as the Hebrew letters of Nero's name come to 666 Bousset treats the question as decided.³ There is also an undoubted reference to the *Nero redivivus* saga then current. Nero is that head of the Beast which was 'smitten unto death,' and whose 'death-stroke' was healed.⁴ A subsequent verse ⁵ makes the identification more exact by explaining the death-stroke as 'the stroke of the sword' which was the literal means of Nero's death. The emperor had made a profound impression on the men of his time. After his tragic death it was still believed by the common people that he would return. The story ran that he was not dead, but living beyond the Euphrates, and would come back with Eastern help to conquer Rome. The persistence of this saga may be gathered from the fact that even as late as the time of Jerome, full 300 years after Nero's death, there were many Christians who still expected Nero as the Antichrist.

¹ *S. C.*, 233.

² *S. C.*, 376.

³ *Antichrist*, E. Tr., pp. 11-12; *Kommentar*, p. 429. Cf. Moffatt, p. 484

⁴ Ch. xiii. 3.

⁵ Ch. xiii. 14.

A crucial case for this method is the possible reference to the Parthians. Pfeiderer¹ rejects the attempts to discover any allusion to contemporary history in the passage ix. 13 ff. —the vision which appears at the sixth trumpet. 'Horse of this kind,' he says, 'belong not to history but to mythology. They are fire-spitting dragons whose home is placed by legend in the East, a reminiscence of the fact that they have their origin in Babylonian cosmology.' It is surely more reasonable to reckon this passage as one in which all three methods must be combined in order to obtain a satisfactory solution. From the Syriac Apocalypse of Ezra we have a parallel passage: 'Loose those four kings who are bound at the great river Euphrates, who are to destroy a third part of men. And they were loosed, and there was a mighty uproar.'² It is not certain that this can be reckoned as proof of an independent tradition, but in any case it is a variation of an archaic tradition according to which four angels were represented as bound at the river Euphrates. The mention of the Euphrates seems to make it certain that the Second Method will have to be brought into play in this passage. We have a parallel in the book of Enoch.³ 'And in those days will the angels return and hurl themselves upon the east, upon the Parthians and upon the Medes, to stir up the kings and provoke in them a spirit of unrest, and rouse them from their thrones, that they may break forth from their resting-places as lions, and as hungry wolves among their flocks.' Thus a Parthian invasion of some kind formed part of the Apocalyptic apparatus.⁴ From classical literature we know the terror inspired by these unconquered foes of the Empire, and whether the Apocalypticist intended to refer to them or not, the passage would undoubtedly have been interpreted by his readers in the light of distresses like

¹ p. 432, vol. iii.

² Quoted by Bousset, *Kommentar*, ad loc., and Moffatt, ad loc.

³ Ch. lvi., verse 5. Charles' edition, p. 149.

⁴ Cf. *Assn. of Moses*, iii., p. 11 of Charles' edition.

the Parthian troubles of A.D. 58-62. Here, then, we have a good example of the combination of the First Method with the Second. The subsidiary details of the picture—the lion-heads of the horses, the mouths spitting fire and brimstone—may possibly be explained by the Third Method as tracts caught up from popular mythology.

Attention has been called of late to a curious detail which seems to be explained by the use of the Second Method. When the third seal is opened, and the black horse of Famine rides forth, a voice cries: 'A measure of wheat for a penny' (i.e. about twelve times the ordinary price¹) 'and three measures of barley for a penny' (i.e. about eight times the ordinary price). Wheat and barley were the necessities of life. The voice adds with regard to luxuries: 'the oil and the wine hurt thou not.' Thus, as Moffatt says, 'one exasperating feature of the age would be the sight of wine and oil flowing, while grain trickled slowly into the grasp of the famishing.'

In A.D. 92 Domitian made an experiment whose object was to foster the cultivation of grain and to discourage the extension of vineyards. By imperial edict no increase of vine culture was permitted in Italy, while in the Provinces the vineyards were to be diminished by one-half. This led to widespread agitation among the vine-growers of Asia Minor. The protest succeeded, and the Emperor withdrew the obnoxious edict. It is thought by recent scholars² that the Apocalypticist has in mind this very incident. He grimly says, 'To be sure you will have no Domitian interfering with your vines and olives, but nevertheless you will be starved.' There is no evidence to show why the oil is here mentioned, but perhaps, as Moffatt and others suggest, it is an artistic embellishment introduced in order to fill out the sketch. This reference to contemporary history, which

¹ Moffatt, p. 394.

² e. g. Joh. Weiss, *Die Schriften des N. T.*, p. 681, vol. ii.; Moffatt, p. 390, where see list of those who support this view.

has only recently been worked out, shows how necessary it is to keep the Second Method as part of the exegetical armour.

III. *Die religionsgeschichtliche Methode* (The Religious Historical Method). The reigning method of the modern exegesis of the Apocalypse starts from the recognized fact that the authors of such works made the freest use of previous material, and seeks to explain the ideas and pictures thus utilized from their history in the religions and mythologies of other nations. The method has been somewhat over-worked and must be employed only under certain qualifications.

(1) The first canon to be laid down is the old distinction between origin and value. Even if it were proved that the highest types of modern religion are developments from the crude animistic fears of primitive man, the position of those religions is not really menaced. Evolution does not explain the world; it simply calls more loudly for explanation. If a belief is or ever has been true, its truth remains unchangeable, even though the genesis of the belief be discovered in some distant prehistoric germ. And this general principle holds good in countless particular instances. Take a case where an Apocalyptic tradition probably had its roots in Babylonian or Persian soil. If there be any mystical value in the mention of the seven spirits before the throne, it is not dissipated by the discovery that the seven chief heavenly bodies were associated in the minds of the ancients with these seven spirits. It is perhaps true that the *dogmatic* use of the text by the Latin commentators as if it embodied an authoritative account of the operation of the Holy Spirit,¹ may be discounted, but such a use of the passage was never more than exegetical fancy. (2) Nor do the investigations conducted with the aid of this method penetrate into the essence of things, as does the historical criticism of the

¹ See Swete, *ad. loc.*

Gospels. As Gunkel says, there is in every great historical religion, by the side of its living moving ideas, much material clinging to them which can well be compared to the decorations on a work of art. The living thoughts of the gospel were and are original and revolutionary. This method can only help us to explain the outward adornments of the temple of faith.¹ (3) A limitation must be placed upon the method in respect of exegesis. Whatever origin may be proved for any of the traditions in the Apocalypse is not necessarily present to the mind of the Seer. Strictly speaking, the function of a true exegesis is to elucidate the meaning that any passage had for the author's mind. The Apocalypticist doubtless caught up out of current Apocalyptic tradition many elements which have a mythological origin, but that he was conscious of this origin remains to be proved. Thus the problems with which the Third Method deals are not strictly part of the task of the exegete, yet they inevitably follow after exegesis.

But it must be admitted that the Apocalypse is so unique, and the class of literature to which it belongs so distinct, that the employment of the method under these limitations is absolutely reasonable and necessary. The first ground for this is that the Apocalypse deals largely in symbols, and symbols can only be understood in reference to their current use. This leads inevitably to a discussion of origin. The exegetical imperceptibly glides into the historical. Primitive symbols, customs, legends are often strangely embalmed in later religious ritual and literature. 'How many German Christians are there,' asks Pfeleiderer,² 'who have any idea what a mass of Germanic heathenism clings to their popular legends and customs? It was doubtless much the same with the Hellenistic Jews of the Diaspora, in their adoption of heathen legends. They saw in them ancient mystical

¹ See Gunkel's work, *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments*, p. 18. Cf. Bousset, *Antichrist*, p. 17.

² Op. cit., p. 439.

traditions and interpreted them in their own way, without stopping to ask whether they were of Babylonian or Greek or Persian origin.'

A second reason for the necessity of this method in connexion with New Testament exegesis in general and the exegesis of the Apocalypse in particular, lies in the extraordinary mingling and meeting of peoples, and thereby of religions, which took place under the early Roman Empire.¹ Of all the New Testament books the Apocalypse is most likely to mirror syncretistic tendencies, for the Apocalyptist deals with the relation of Christianity to the world and the world-powers, and portrays the course of universal history and the approach of the inevitable end in the light of the Christian ideal and the Christian hope. Moreover the Apocalypse is closely related to the books of Judaism, and Judaism at this period could not fail to be modified by the presence of other religions in Palestine and by the reflex influence of her own Diaspora. A third reason for the necessity of this method is the established fact that the Old Testament shows unquestioned traces of the influence of other religions. The Babylonian elements in Genesis have long been commonplaces of Old Testament criticism. The Zoroastrian influences are less evident but none the less real.² They are especially probable in the case of Eschatology and Angelology. Hence we might expect to find similar traces in the Apocalypse, which is full of the figures of angels and the thought of the end. And if the Old Testament and subsequent Judaism were indebted to other religions, *a fortiori* we expect to find the Apocalypse, which is vitally dependent on the Old Testament and has more strange ideas than the Old Testament, to be similarly indebted.

¹ Gunkel, *Forschung*, pp. 15-17.

² See the brilliant essay by Dr. J. H. Moulton on Zoroastrianism, *D. B.*, vol. iv., e.g. in regard to Eschatology: 'The Jewish belief can hardly have been developed without Persian stimulus.'

The Seven Spirits of i. 4 are probably to be connected with the seven holy angels of Tobit xii. 15. This employment of the first method discounts the old interpretation of the Latin commentators.¹ Exegesis proper would end here. But the third method is required. These seven spirits are portrayed under various symbols. In i. 16 Christ has seven stars in His hand. Add to this the fact emphasized by Gunkel² that Jewish angelology is the product of a previous polytheism, and it is difficult to avoid the impression that the roots of the idea are to be found in a foreign religion. The early Babylonian conception, of the seven spirits—the sun, and the moon and the five known planets—was not unknown to the Jewish religion before 100 B.C.³ and corresponds to the Persian Amshaspands.⁴ Judaism probably took over this conception, and in the interests of monotheism converted the gods into angels, thus dissipating the danger that lies in polytheism.⁵ Here several principles of interpretation are exemplified. Two Methods are combined (the first and the third), and in the combination the third method is clearly shown as belonging to historical research rather than to exegesis proper. The roots of the idea were not necessarily before the mind of the Apocalypticist.

Next in logical order come the twenty-four Elders. The view that these figures represent the twenty-four classes of the post-exilic priests⁶ is arbitrary and unconvincing. The elders do not represent the Church, and in fact are not men at all.⁷ They pertain to the heavenly court, and are angels of the highest rank. This is proved by passages⁸ in the Slavonic Enoch (iv. 1) and the *Judicium Petri*.

¹ Swete, ad loc., follows them. But see Moffatt, p. 388.

² *Forschung*, p. 41.

³ Moffatt, p. 388. Cf. Jubilees, ii. 2.

⁴ Cf. J. H. Moulton in *D. B.*, iv., art. 'Zoroastrianism.' See Gunkel, *Forschung*, p. 42.

⁵ So Bousset, *Kommentar*, p. 217. Pfeiderer, iii., p. 405.

⁶ Renan, ch. xvi.

⁷ Moffatt, pp. 378-9.

⁸ See Bousset, *Kommentar*, p. 291, where the passages are quoted. Also see Gunkel, *S. C.*, pp. 302-308.

According to the latter passage twenty-four of the angels are called elders, 'For there are four-and-twenty elders, twelve on the right and twelve on the left,' &c. A passage in Diodorus Siculus speaks of the Babylonians as separating twenty-four stars outside the zodiac circle, half of them in the North and half in the South, to judge the universe. Here we notice particularly the division into two sets of twelve in both cases, coupled with the fact that the elders are to be identified with angels. These facts make it extremely probable that Judaism took over these star-gods and changed them into angels. In using these figures as part of his 'arabesque' the Apocalyptist was probably not conscious of their original significance, for he assigns to the Elders the function of priests (v. 8) whereas they were originally kings, senators of the Most High.¹

It is the *twelfth chapter* that the Third Method has fortified as its citadel, and at present the position seems impregnable. In the first place, it is now almost beyond question that the Apocalyptist himself did not compose the chapter, but took most of it over from earlier tradition.² As one of the many proofs it may be noticed that the figure of Michael in vv. 7-9 'thrusts aside that of the Messiah, for it is Michael and not the child that overthrows Satan when storming the heavens.'³ This speaks strongly for the contention that ch. xii. has passed into the Apocalypse through the mediation of Judaism. The chapter is obviously Messianic in idea, and the design of the Apocalyptist in introducing it is to show that the power of Satan is doomed. The present persecution is but the last campaign of a foe who is soon to be crushed by

¹ Gunkel, *Forschung*, s. 48. Bousset, *Kommentar*, 291. Joh. Weiss, *Die Schriften*, s. 628. Pfeiderer, iii., p. 421.

² So, e.g. C. A. Scott in the *Century Bible*, p. 284, after a cautious and balanced exposition of the chapter. Cf. Joh. Weiss, *Forschung*, p. 189 with additional arguments. For detailed proof, see *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 176-201. This proof is assumed as final by later commentators. Cf. Bousset, *Kommentar*, p. 396 ff.

³ R. H. Charles in *D. B.*, art. 'Michael.'

God. If these two points are granted as the main ideas of the chapter—the Messianic meaning and the prophecy of the fall of Satan—the second question immediately arises: Is the chapter of Jewish origin? Here again Gunkel's argument seems final.¹ The negative proof is that the imagery in its detail is foreign to Messianism. The positive proof is that this imagery shows traces of adaptation from more primitive sources.

If the above positions are granted, the ultimate origin of the myth is of subordinate importance. But the most convincing evidence for these positions is the similarity of the story to those current in other nations. Gunkel in his earlier work argued for the Babylonian origin of this chapter. The myth of Marduk certainly affords some analogy. Damkina is the mother of Marduk,² and the heavenly powers fight with Tiamat, the mythical monster of the great deep. But as Bousset says,³ nearly all the characteristic traits of the myth in chapter xii. are to seek in the Babylonian story as we know it. We look in vain for any analogous tale of Marduk's birth, for the persecution of the dragon, or the flight to the wilderness. The pictorial parallels which Gunkel adduces for Rev. xii. are, as Bousset says, quite unsatisfactory.

Much more apt is the crude Egyptian myth cited by Bousset.⁴ Hathor (Isis) the mother of the god, is represented with a sun on her head. Horus, her child, is the god of light, and his birthday is a great spring festival. Typhon is portrayed under various symbols, of which the most frequent are Dragon, serpent, crocodile. In the Egyptian *Pistis Sophia* the dragon who persecutes Sophia has seven heads. The goddess gives birth miraculously to the young sun-god, and when pursued by the Dragon she flies in a papyrus boat to the mythical floating island Chemnis.

¹ *S. C.*, 235–282.

² *S. C.*, 385–391.

³ *Kommentar*, p. 409.

⁴ p. 410 of the *Kommentar*.

Bousset quotes two fragments of a hymn which show certain curious parallels to Apoc. xii., and the general impression made on the mind is that the two stories are similar in character, and even if one is not derived from the other, they both probably have a common root.

Apart from the parallels among the Mandaeans and Manichaeans which Gunkel mentions,¹ there is another claimant for the honour of being the source of the Apocalyptic tradition. Dieterich in his *Abraxas* suggested a Greek home for Apoc. xii. Moffatt argues that the evidence points decisively to the Hellenic form of the myth as the immediate source of the symbolic tradition.² When Leto was about to bear Apollo she was persecuted by the Earth-dragon—the Python—who sought to destroy her expected son, at whose hands, according to an oracle, he was to meet with disaster. Leto, however, was carried away by the wind-god Boreas and brought to Poseidon, who prepared her a refuge upon the island of Ortygia, while he hid her with the waves of the sea from the eyes of her pursuer. Here Leto brought forth Apollo, who on the fourth day after his birth had grown so strong that he slew the hostile dragon upon Parnassus. As Pfeiderer observes, the main difference in the two myths is that in the Apocalypse the persecution of the mother by the dragon does not begin till after the birth of her son, and his being carried away to God, and after the defeat of the dragon in the heavenly war. As this stultifies the persecution which was originally directed only against the son, Pfeiderer conjectures that we have here a variation, due to interests of a different character, of an originally simpler story more like that of the Greek myth.³

It is not necessary to decide between these competing claims. The fact seems incontestable that all these stories

¹ *Forschung*, p. 57.

² p. 422. Cf. especially Pfeiderer, *Primitive Christianity*, iii., pp. 437–8.

³ See in addition Moffatt, p. 422, as to the connexion of the myth with the cults of Asia Minor.

are forms of the fundamental representation of the battle of the light-god against the powers of darkness.

Gunkel further suggested ¹ that the figure of the Lamb in v. 6 is possibly derived from mythology. The seven eyes of the lamb stand for the seven spirits which go out into the whole earth, and which are the same as those associated, in iii. 1, with the seven stars. Hence the Lamb itself may have some astral significance. With its seven horns, it is more like a ram than a lamb. The conjecture of Pfeiderer is that the picture of the lamb is based on the sign of the ram in the zodiac, and the lion upon the sign 'leo.' ²

From this conclusion we emphatically dissent. The figure of the Paschal Lamb had long been familiar to the Jews. Early Christian thought had by this time long been exercised over the connexion of Jesus Christ with Isa. liii. The use of *ἀμνος* in the Fourth Gospel proves that Jesus was spoken of in the early Church under the figure of the Lamb. Since *ἀμνος* is of Old Testament derivation, why should *ἀρνιων* be of Babylonian or Mithraic origin? The difference of terms can hardly imply any wide difference in the origin of the conceptions. Finally some allowance must be made for originality in Apocalyptic imagination. 'Gunkel shares with his adversary the prejudice of regarding the writer as a *corpus vile*, which takes the food offered and must assimilate it well or ill. On the contrary the seer is far too independent to warrant us in hunting out a tradition behind everything he says.' ³

But the method has come to stay. In course of time, as Gunkel says, it will be seen that it constitutes a great bulwark of Christianity. For our religion is syncretistic. All the vague unsatisfied longings that find expression in these earlier stories are met and satisfied by the religion of Jesus.

¹ In a note on p. 289; but see the *Forschung*, note on p. 62, where he seems to withdraw the suggestion.

² Pfeiderer, iii., pp. 428 ff.

³ Jülicher, *Intro. to N. T.*, p. 291.

We are told that the greatest danger comes from the study of comparative religion. It may well be that we shall find the greatest support where we looked for the greatest danger, and that by tracing out the affinities of Christianity with previous religions we may come to see that our faith is the perfect flower of them all, the consummation of centuries of desire.

But after all methods have been employed on the Book of Revelation and on the Book of Religion we are face to face with a great mystery. We come back to the point from which we started. *Omnia abeunt in mysterium*. As we labour to elucidate our religion and its sacred books we feel at once the mystery and the marvel that surround them.

I dimly guess what Time in mists confounds;
Yet ever and anon a trumpet sounds
From the hid battlements of Eternity;
Those shaken mists a space unsettle, then
Round the half glimpsèd turrets slowly wash again,
But not ere him who summoneth
I first have seen, enwound
With glooming robes purpureal, cypress crowned;
His name I know, and what his trumpet saith.

These words from the *Hound of Heaven*, by a poet steeped in the spirit of the Apocalypse, make us feel the eternal value of this book. The hands that have contributed to its making may be the hands of men who lived in divers countries and spoke in many tongues, but the voice is the voice of God, and the book will never lose its appeal to him who with the experience of a saint keeps the heart of a child.

ROBERT NEWTON FLEW.

Notes and Discussions

ITALIAN MODERNISM

DR. OTTO LEMPP, of Kiel, contributes to the April number of *Religion und Geisteskultur* a comprehensive and instructive survey of Italian Modernism, pointing out its significance and estimating its prospects. At the outset he makes the startling but illuminating statement that the attitude of Roman Catholic Modernists cannot be understood unless it be borne in mind that 'in some respects Catholicism is less antagonistic to evolutionary movements than Protestantism.' Romanists hold that the living Church, with its means of grace, is the mediator between God and the world; even the dogma of infallibility is regarded as substituting for an authority rooted in the past an institution active in the present, the living authority of the Papacy, to whose interpretations ancient authorities, whether biblical or traditional, must submit. From this point of view Protestants are reproached for putting their trust in a 'dead, paper Pope,' and it is such considerations as these which explain the reluctance of Catholic Modernists to become Protestants.

It is against some of the attempts to introduce modern culture into the service of the Church that the Papal antagonism is directed. How are we to account for the uncompromising opposition of the Vatican to Biblical criticism, and for its repeated declaration that the theology of Thomas Aquinas is normative for the twentieth century? Is the attitude of the Curia, consistently maintained for more than half a century, due to the reactionary views of the last three Popes, to the influence of the Jesuits, and in the case of the present Pope to the dominance of the Spanish Camarilla at the Vatican? An affirmative reply is given by the majority of Modernists; this is their conviction, and therefore they still hope for a reform of the Church to which they cling. Others regard these hopes as illusions, believing that the fundamental principles of Romanism forbid any concession to the Modernists, not because of their scientific or political theories, but because of their views on religion. Dr. Lempp has recently returned from a tour in Italy, in the course of which he made the acquaintance of most of the leaders of the Italian Modernists. On this account his judgement on the conflicting forecasts of the future of the movement are of peculiar value.

In the Encyclical *Pascendi dominici gregis* (September 7, 1907) Pius X severely condemned Modernism as the 'synthesis of all heresies.' Italian and French Modernists have protested against the caricature of their teaching contained in this document. An anonymous reply, entitled *Programma dei Modernisti*, represents the views of one section only; it would not be accepted by Modernists like Murri and Avolio. Dr. Lempp

proves conclusively that Italian Modernism is a collective term for a many-sided movement, which it is impossible to define in a single formula. The delusion of the Curia consists in 'supposing that it is face to face with an organized conspiracy which craftily keeps back the last items in its programme in order to deceive innocent Christians.'

To support his statement that the Curia makes use of all kinds of weapons in its campaign against Modernism, Dr. Lempp refers to the case of a young priest, named Verdesi, who is said ultimately to have joined the Methodists. In March 1911 Verdesi confessed to a Jesuit priest that he had been in a company where Modernist theories were discussed. Absolution was refused until he had denounced his friends. What is still more significant, the Pope sent him a letter, declaring that to avoid mortal sin the denunciation must be handed in at once, and that to avoid another mortal sin absolute silence on the subject must be maintained. Verdesi's denunciation led to the dismissal of four priests, no reasons being given for the drastic treatment. One of the four was Buonaiuti, the famous Church historian. When Verdesi seceded, he was released from his vow of silence, and a profoundly painful impression was made upon many good Catholics when it became known that the Confessional had been employed to further the designs of ecclesiastical politicians, and that the Pope himself held it to be a mortal sin not to denounce a friend.

A distressing picture is painted of the plight in which dismissed Modernist priests find themselves. There is no pension for them, although many have spent their lives in the service of the Church; few are qualified for any other calling than the priesthood. The clerical press publishes piquant anecdotes suggesting that Modernism is due to a dislike of celibacy. 'It is almost exclusively amongst the Waldensians that these unfortunates find any genuine sympathy and practical help.'

Having shown that Italian Modernism is not a secret conspiracy—although so recently as September 1910 Pius X described it as a *clandestinum foedus*—Dr. Lempp defines it as a comprehensive name for a number of isolated tendencies acting together in their opposition to the reactionary policy of the Curia, which for a century has been swayed by the Jesuits, and for the last half-century has unscrupulously striven to attain its ends with gradually increasing violence. But the connotation of the term Modernist is unduly extended when it is applied to malcontents, as, e. g. priests who grumble because they are not allowed to cycle or to wear a beard. More importance is attached to the agitation against the compulsory celibacy of the clergy. In his denunciation of this anti-social law of the Church, Avolio, the editor of the *Battaglie d'oggi* and a layman, has widespread and influential support.

Dr. Lempp asks whether attempts to reform the Church are to be regarded as merely expressions of discontent with details, or as having a modernist significance. Formerly Avolio's journal was described on its title-page as *Rivista di Socialismo Cristiano*; since 1911 it has been called *Organo del Movimento per la Riforma religiosa*. In its columns have appeared scathing criticisms of the Church. The contrast between the poverty of the clerical proletariat and the luxurious living of the upper

classes of the hierarchy has been boldly denounced, the despotism and the hardness of heart manifested in the anti-Modernist politics of the Curia have been sternly condemned. All this involves a breach with the Roman Catholic idea of the Church and its authority. It is true that disciplinary regulations are only *ecclesiastici* and not *divini juris*, but the Vatican cannot permit such free criticism by a layman, nor sanction the application to the *civitas Dei* of the laws governing social ethics in the secular sphere. 'The final end, the welfare of the Church, sanctifies all means—that is the inevitable outcome of the Catholic supernatural conception of the Church, and the Curia, as at present constituted, carries out this policy to extreme lengths. Therefore it is Modernism if laymen, who are not competent to pass judgement on the needs of the Church, institute demands for reform, even if they are based on moral considerations.' The group of Modernists of whom Avolio is the leader are influenced by practical and not by doctrinal motives. Dr. Lempp believes that they may ultimately bring about the reform of abuses; but their work is in the main destructive in its tendency. Its motives are, however, noble; therefore the hope may be cherished that when the work of pulling down has been thoroughly done, and there is need for a new house, 'the Divine Spirit will find a fit instrument for the work of building up.'

Another type of Modernism has for its distinguishing feature an organized propaganda for the circulation of the New Testament. On April 27, 1902, 'the Society of St. Jerome' was founded, its object being to promote the spread of the Gospels. In 1908 the circulation was almost a million copies. Then the suspicion of the Curia was aroused. A Cardinal was placed at the head of the Society which was preparing a new edition of the entire New Testament. In the text of the introduction and of the notes many changes were made to remove grounds of offence; 'it was corrected to death, and in the bureaucratic atmosphere its fresh life was choked.' Prof. Giovanni Luzzi published in 1911 a new translation of the New Testament with notes purely exegetical and not dogmatic. He regards scientifically critical Modernism as 'an unfruitful, hypercritical aberration'; his hopes depend on gradually permeating the clergy and the laity with the spirit of the gospel. Dr. Lempp does not share the optimism of Luzzi (cf. Luzzi's article in the *Hibbert Journal*, Jan. 1911, 'The Roman Catholic Church in Italy at the Present Hour'); but he recognizes that the circulation of the New Testament may do more for Italy than ecclesiastical and political attacks on the Curia; it may not have immediate and direct external results, but for these it will prepare the way by weakening Papal authority and by promoting autonomous religious life. Other aspects of Italian Modernism will be dealt with by Dr. Lempp in the July number of *Religion und Geisteskultur*.

J. G. TASKER.

PROFESSOR ROBERTSON SMITH

The Life of William Robertson Smith (A. & C. Black) seems somewhat out of date, for it is eighteen years since he died at Cambridge. But such

a biography could afford to wait, and the delay was due to the execution of a literary design planned during Smith's life and carried on at his wish and as a continuation of his work. Time has also made it possible to form a more just estimate of his biblical studies, and has taken the sting from the old controversy which ended in the loss of his Professorship at Aberdeen. That six years' war was a distressing struggle, though it finally lifted Robertson Smith into a new sphere of influence and gave him a position such as he could never have found in Scotland.

His biographers draw a very attractive picture of the parsonage at Keig, where he was born in 1846. At the time of the Disruption his father was master of a prosperous school in Aberdeen. He had married the accomplished daughter of the previous head master. The Free Church congregation in the united parishes of Keig and Tough called him to be their minister in 1845. Dr. Pirie Smith educated his own boys, and had the immense gratification of watching the triumphs they won at the University. William's health broke down before the final examinations, in which he was expected to take a distinguished place not only in Classics and Mathematics but in Moral Philosophy also. George, the second boy, swept everything before him, but died in the very month of his victory. An elder sister who had been studying with the brothers at Aberdeen died of consumption two years earlier.

It was a bitter time for Robertson Smith. He was already a decided Christian. Before he was twelve, his father says, 'A work of grace was wrought upon him, and in such a form that he was at length delivered from the fear of death and made partaker of a hope full of immortality.' From Aberdeen he passed to the New College, Edinburgh. This was a period of rapid mental growth. He was a model of Presbyterian orthodoxy, who thought that an organ stripped church singing of its devotional character. He describes a sermon by Dr. Hanna, the son-in-law and biographer of Chalmers. It was 'certainly the most elegant I ever heard, but contained nothing but aesthetics and a little bad logic in favour of relaxed creeds. There was neither thought, nor genuine feeling, nor gospel truth in any part of the discourse, which was an account, historical and aesthetical, of the First Epistle to the Corinthians.'

For a time the young scholar became assistant to Tait, the Professor of Natural Philosophy, and did some important work as an original investigator in physics. In 1869 he attended Ritschl's lectures in Göttingen, 'far the best course he ever heard,' and formed a friendship with him which was a landmark in the history of his theological views. In 1870 he was appointed to the chair of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College of Aberdeen. He had been the favourite pupil of Dr. A. B. Davidson, who warmly supported the appointment. Smith's life in Aberdeen was 'simple and strenuous.' He was an enthusiastic teacher, and lost no opportunity of adding to his own knowledge of Semitic civilization as a whole. He maintained personal relations with Ritschl, and was on intimate terms with Paul de Lagarde, who had succeeded Ewald as Professor of Oriental Languages at Göttingen.

All went prosperously till 1875, when his article on the 'Bible' appeared

in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. That ushered in six years of painful controversy, and finally led to the vote of the Assembly of 1881 removing Smith from his Professorship. The history given in this volume is full of interest to students of the Old Testament. Such action would be impossible to-day. Smith's views as to the composition of the Pentateuch and the prophecy of Isaiah are now generally accepted. He held that 'the Bible is the one sufficient and authoritative record of divine revelation as heartily as any man' could do. Dr. John Brown regarded the article as 'the very pith of common sense, and as tight a bit of work in word and thought as has been done in these times.' Smith's opinions in no wise affected the sincerity of his adherence to the Evangelical doctrine of the Free Church. In reading these pages we see that he was a keen controversialist who did not always measure his words. His friends could not justify some of his strictures on his opponents, and it was peculiarly unfortunate that immediately after he had been admonished by the Assembly for the unguarded and incomplete statements he had made, his article on 'Hebrew Language and Literature' appeared in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and an article on 'Animal Worship and Animal Tribes among the Arabs and in the Old Testament.' The whole controversy broke out afresh, and though acquitted of specific heresies, Smith was finally removed from his chair because of the dangerous tendency of his teaching. His biographers have much to say of Dr. Rainy's departure from the liberal attitude which he adopted in the Assembly of 1878. They hold that if he had maintained the same position in the three following Assemblies he would have been able to carry the Church with him, whereas he 'abandoned Smith and joined forces with the enemies of ecclesiastical freedom.' That may have been so, but Dr. Rainy had to think of the state of feeling within the Church, and Smith did not make his task easy. He was compelled to think that the young Professor had forfeited the confidence of the Church and that his removal from his chair had become essential.

After he left Aberdeen Smith became joint editor of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and for two years lived in Edinburgh. Mr. A. W. Black said, 'His business aptitude and administrative ability were on a level with his high intellectual gifts. He possessed a penetrative power of observation and a quickness of judgement that, together with his varied and exact knowledge, made him an expert in dealing with the circumstances and transactions of practical life. There never was a more tremendous worker.' In 1883 he succeeded Prof. Palmer as Lord Almoner's Reader in Arabic at Cambridge. There he found himself in congenial surroundings. The University offered him a warm welcome, and he was elected to a Fellowship at Christ's which gave him both position and income. The following year he was appointed University Librarian in succession to Henry Bradshaw. He did valuable work here until in 1889 he was appointed Professor of Arabic. That year he published *The Religion of the Semites*, his most original and important book, which gave him assured rank as one of the chief exponents of the new science of Comparative Religion. His leading positions that all primitive religions actually passed

through a totemistic stage, that 'all later stages of the ritual of Semitic sacrifice admit of being explained as developments, largely by misunderstanding and misinterpretation from this,' are far from commanding universal assent, but Smith's labours, followed by the work of Dr. Frazer, in *The Golden Bough*, have brought about the wide diffusion and profound influence of totemism. The volume of his *Lectures and Essays* published with the *Life* throws much light on his mental development and 'his attitude towards the theological controversies and scientific inquiries which were the chief concern of his life.' The scientific papers reveal the breadth of his learning, and the early theological papers and the Aberdeen lectures are intensely interesting to students. The luminous article on 'The Poetry of the Old Testament' and the two Arabian studies make a wider appeal, but all bear witness to his erudition and his power of exposition, and help a reader of the *Life* to understand the reputation which he gained both at Aberdeen and at Cambridge.

Prof. Smith died on March 31, 1894. He was under five feet four in height, slight and round-shouldered. Restless and impetuous, with a somewhat shrill and strident voice, he took an intense interest in things to which he bent his attention. His intellect was 'one of unusual power and distinction.' The astonishing versatility and copiousness of his learning were generally acknowledged, and 'when rallied about his omniscience he would retort by a reference to the fact that he was among the few men who had read through the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.' His great linguistic gift was based on thorough knowledge of comparative grammar and philology, and his incisive criticism, joined with scientific imagination, gave special value to his work as a pioneer in the science of comparative religion. His biographers apply to him the words that he wrote about David, that 'he maintained that calm and resolute submission to the divine will which makes the strength of a truly religious character, and raises the servant of God above the fear of man.'

JOHN TELFORD.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ST. PAUL

THE Pauline estimate of human nature was a somewhat flattering one. He said to the Athenians: 'We are His offspring, made in His image and likeness.' In detailing his own experiences he speaks of his body and of himself, his inner man and his outer, and enumerates such human faculties as desire, conscience, mind, reason, will; he affirms that he has such occult experiences as visions and trances; he claims such supernormal gifts as healings, working of miracles, and the speaking with tongues, and he held man to consist ontologically of body, soul and spirit, and to be capable of three grades of ethical character and three successive forms of bodily manifestation. Out of so many and such varied references it may be possible to construct a complete and self-consistent theory of man's nature.

We start with the apostle's distribution of man into 'spirit, soul, and body.' The question of moment here is—What weight are we to attach to this term 'spirit'? Did he seriously look on man as a trichotomy or a dichotomy as to his substantive nature? Is spirit only a quality of soul, or is it an essence of a superior order? Is the soul of man separable from spirit, so that we can ever say of the latter *non est*? Is the soul dependent on spirit for its humanity and immortality; or more radically still, if for us as with Prof. James 'souls are out of fashion,' may we refuse to make soul anything substantial and static within man, or more than a synonym for person or agent? Such are some of the deeper problems which at once emerge, and to which possibly, however much we may try, there is no decisive answer. Our first endeavour must be to state what Paul seems to mean by his terms.

BODY (*sōma*) usually refers to man's flesh in its organized individual form, with the appetites, passions, instincts and determining power which make up the sensuous life possessed by animals. In man it is the platform or basis on which rests whatever higher natures he possesses, and the organ through which they act upon the external world which forms its suitable environment. We give the body this inclusive range because in Paul's estimation it is 'the body of the sins of the flesh'—a concrete, distinguishable life in its own degree, capable of capturing all that is in man and making all his moral product 'works according to the flesh.'

SOUL (*psychē*) is an elusive word all over the Greek language. In the New Testament it occurs over a hundred times, and is translated about equally between soul and life, and occasionally mind and heart. It has the same range of reference in Plato and Aristotle, so that it has been thought that Paul was influenced by Greek philosophy. As life and soul stand so far apart in Western thought, this is very perplexing. Paul uses the word about a dozen times, and twice at least it seems to be well enough rendered by *life*; but prevalingly it is loaded with a larger meaning inclusive of all that makes up the personality of man in his temporal manifestation, and in a few cases implies his immortality. There is, therefore, only the slightest excuse for those who, like Beyschlag, Charles, and Gardiner, think that Paul identifies flesh and soul, so that ethically the fleshly man and the soulful are one and the same. It is forgotten that a man's life includes the activities of his soul, so that a physical assault can be made on soul through an attack upon his life. The Bible reader who does not consult the Greek may easily fall into the same mistake from the fact that the term soulful as used by Paul has been translated 'natural,' and in James and Jude 'sensual.' Both translations misrepresent the apostle's thought. His term fleshly or carnal describes always what strictly belongs to flesh as a sentient passionate life, and when used as an ethical epithet pictures a man who is ruled by the dominant passions and interests of his flesh. Matthew Arnold points us to the gay Parisian as the average sensual man, with perhaps a little severity of judgement. A man who is soulful stands upon a higher plane, and we may take as his type the moral yet non-religious man of Germany, perhaps even go as high as Goethe for his exemplar. The *psychē* includes the emotions, the imagina-

tion, reason, and will. The psychical man is therefore one who lives a well-balanced, natural life, interested, it may be, in art and science and given to philosophy, but whose characteristic defect from the Christian standpoint is that he is not alive in spirit nor influenced by the Spirit of God.

SPIRIT (*pneuma*) is a word that was in constant use by the apostle, and covered considerable latitude of idea. It stands for the third person of the Trinity, for the mind of Christ, a divine effluence operating on man and nature, and a religious tone of mind in man. Beyond all doubt it also stands for the disincarnate human personality, and also for a diabolical personal agent. In such supermaterial personalities Paul undoubtedly believed. He held with confidence that the fleshly investment of a man is not essential to his full self-consciousness. He tells us that he had been caught up into Paradise, and while there experienced such complete mentality that he could not tell whether his material body, in some transfigured form, was caught up with him or was left on earth, while his inner manhood soared and raptured in the skies. Still it is difficult to fix precisely what part he apportioned to spirit in our nature beyond this, that it is the crown of personality and most intimately relates man to the Divine. Is it an essential of human nature or a supernatural gift bestowed upon a few? Calvinistic divines have been mostly disposed to say that spirit belongs only, or at least is attributed only, to the regenerate man, and that 'flesh' as opposed to 'spirit' is a term for natural fallen man, indicating that he is totally depraved. On the whole, spirit seems to be an essential of human nature, a substantial form that rests upon the *psyché* and in a measure corresponds to it as the *psyché* to kindred faculties in the animal or fleshly life. All these elements may exist simultaneously in the constitution of man, yet manifest themselves in varying degrees of activity, thus producing the three emphatic grades of character which Paul describes according to which element is most powerful in the life.

In Paul's dealings with these types of character the soulish man is left almost unnoticed, unless he covertly refers to him under the guise of his own experience as a Jew; and his only direct allusion is in his statement that Adam was created on the middle or psychical plane of nature. The fall of the psychical Adam under the domination of the flesh brought the whole of the race into closer touch with the world of sense and passion, and narrowed the doors of the mind against the ingress of the Divine. Therefore Paul deals with the race as requiring redemption out of a sarkical into a spiritual state. It does not follow that because the race is represented by its substantive nature *sarx* (flesh) that man is nothing but flesh, any more than that when he is spoken of as spiritual he is nothing else than spirit. The apostle locates the sin of the race in its 'body of flesh,' 'the members' of its exterior organism, rather than in the *nous* or mind, not that he means by 'flesh' to cover the whole nature of man, as some have contended, but because he wishes to signify that the motives which initiate sin are prevailingly found in the predominance which the interests of flesh have obtained in the desires and thoughts of men. Even the strifes and heresies which had wrought such havoc in his own day

were motivated by advantages which were to be gained in and through this world. This philosophy of evil-doing is amply justified by the history both of the Church and the world. The Pauline conception of man's nature may be figuratively represented either by a pyramid of three tiers or an organism of three concentric connected circles, any one of which may work most powerfully in the life. This explains what is meant by the 'mind of the flesh,' 'the willings of the flesh,' and the '*nous* or reason of the flesh.' All the higher or inner faculties, if the spirit is comparatively feeble, can become absorbed in their lowest correspondent and the man walk entirely according to the flesh. Tertullian puts the case in a beautiful parable: 'When the Soul is wedded to the Spirit the Flesh follows, like the handmaid who follows her wedded mistress to the husband's home, being thenceforth no longer the servant of the Soul but of the Spirit.'

It will be seen then that the apostle is not, as Professor Gardner accuses him, involved in any Manichaean dualism of good and evil, but is entirely in sympathy with the Old Testament writers who touch upon the theme. The flesh, even as it exists in fallen man, is not an essentially evil thing, nor in itself opposed to God, but only of necessity ignorant of or indifferent to moral good. The life of a lion in the forest is a carnal life, but it is not sinful nor even evil, because it is not the perversion of a higher nature to base uses. When, however, a man's life sinks into a mere impulse after enjoyment of a sensuous kind, let it be lust or wealth, the honours of society, or the sensuous attractions of art, he wilfully transfers himself from a higher world for which he was made, and his soul and spirit become a sacrifice to the flesh, at once ruinous to himself and displeasing to God.

From this point of view we can favourably approach the doctrine of depravity. We do not need to suppose that any alien or corrupt substance has come in upon human nature because of sin; but it is possible that ancestral sin has made some physiological change which affects the balance of the bodily powers and the harmonious action of body, soul, and spirit. From the well-known re-action of mind and body we must expect that an unbalanced animal nature will send up its disorders into the soul. Perversion of instincts or tastes must needs becloud the mind. Certain animal proclivities may grip the soul too insistently and imprison its faculties. Depravity may therefore well be the saturation of the spiritual nature in the sensuous, the undue submersion of the spirit in its organ; and in many cases the inner man may start on the voyage of life like a ship that leaves the port waterlogged or sunk below the loadline, with the prospect of a dangerous voyage.

It has been maintained that the spirit of man in the Pauline system is a specialized breath of God flowing into the regenerated man rather than a constituent of human nature. Much countenance is given to this notion by the feeble signs of spirit found in the lives of many. This, however, may arise from the fact that the individual man, like the race, achieves his completion by a process of evolution in which the higher reaches of his nature are the last to be matured. Professor Ames will have it that it is indefensible to think of a child as having a soul. Is

not the nightingale and its song structurally present in the egg that lies unhatched in the nest? Does not evolution imply a previous involution? And surely the child contains the whole of man, though in its start its experience is first animal, then intellectual, then moral, and, as it may or may not be, finally spiritual. As such a mental faculty as the mathematical continues latent in many for lack of opportunity, so may a spiritual nature though it never attains to definite manifestation. The subject is important chiefly from its bearings upon man's immortality. Dr. Charles makes Paul teach that the soul is 'a function of the body,' and that only in the spirit as an emanation from God are we immortal. Paul, then, must have held that the unregenerate perish with their bodily death. This is to misconceive the situation. It is not reasonable to suppose that Paul held the flimsy notion that the Spirit of God animates 'a function of the body,' and that a merely working energy like this becomes personal and immortal on the death of the body. The Spirit of God in Pauline thought simply awakes and energizes the spirit of man, and in accordance with the original creative design perfects its outward form for independent existence in the world to come. Man is thus a trichotomy.

If this be so, then he will have in the course of his existence, if he develops as God purposes, three exterior bodies of diverse grades of glory. First, he functions in a body of flesh; then, according to the rapid eschatological sketch sent to the Corinthians, in the resurrection or 'up-standing' future state he functions in a body whose grade is determined by the way he has lived in the flesh. 'If there is,' as philosophy had taught and the Jews believed, 'a soulish body, there is also,' he assures us, 'a spiritual body' prepared for the elect, by which they are translated to a world of glory into which the unregenerate cannot enter. This implies that the unregenerate, though suffering from arrested development, survive death in the psychical form from which the saints have been redeemed for a glorious life in heavenly spheres.

Now the question emerges, What is the authority of St. Paul worth? That depends upon how he came by the views which he expounds. It has become a fashion of late for even church dignitaries to belittle the apostle's judgement by reducing him to an epileptic who thought he saw visions, heard voices, and was directed by the Master himself. This derogatory judgement is the sign of a decadent spirit, and means that many religious teachers of to-day have no experience or knowledge of, and very little belief in, the objective reality and forcefulness of the spirit world. Such men must of necessity reduce the greatest of teachers to their own impotent level, turn knowledge into speculation, faith into superstition, the supernatural into fiction, and thus undermine morality and religion while professedly building up the city of God. The apostle was too strong a personality to be thus blindly deceived, or even to rest satisfied with echoing the psychology of prophets or Greek philosophers. He was a man of profound religious experience and close intimacy with the more occult powers of our complex nature. His analysis of man's constitution is no mere academic discussion, but the expression of a close acquaintance

with the deepest in man's soul, and a reliable empirical science which will work out well for both the philosopher and the preacher. He seems to us not only to have believed but to have known the things whereof he affirmed.

ALEXANDER BROWN.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY, 1662

Two hundred and fifty years have passed since what was known as 'Black Bartholomew's Day,' August 24. The story of noble testimony and of heroic endurance is once more being told. Methodists have an honourable and a historic part in the commemoration, for John Wesley's paternal grandfather and great-grandfather, and also his maternal grandfather, Dr. Samuel Annesley, were among the sufferers. Bishop Burnet, Richard Baxter, Edmund Calamy, and other contemporary writers give copious details of the circumstances preceding and attending the Great Ejection. Writing within three months of the Restoration of the Stuarts, Baxter says, 'Before this time many hundreds of worthy men were displaced. Our earnest desire was that all such might be removed as were in any benefice formerly belonging to a proper man, but that all who had succeeded such as were scandalous or insufficient should keep their places.' These wishes were vain, and all the old ones living were restored. In this way John Howe, Philip Henry, and many other ministers were summarily displaced in the autumn of 1660.

The farce of the 'Savoy Conference' was enacted in March 1661, when twelve bishops and nine assistants met an equal number of Puritan clergymen, ostensibly to confer upon and revise the Book of Common Prayer, and to make reasonable alterations for satisfying tender consciences and for restoring unity and peace to the Church. The real object was to ascertain what the Puritan party desired, in order to refuse any concessions. Sheldon, Bishop of London, and subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury, declared, 'Now we know their minds, we will have matters so fixed that not one shall be able to keep his living.' It was determined to drive them into Nonconformity, and then to make it penal. Sheldon also said, 'We will make them all knaves if they conform.' Nothing short of the expulsion of the Puritan element out of the Church would satisfy Sheldon and his colleagues. Impartial men, of all theological schools, have united in condemning the policy of the bishops throughout the procedure, charging them with having aggravated and enforced a fatal schism. Overwhelming evidence exists to show that peace was not intended or desired.

Simultaneously, in a packed Convocation, six hundred alterations were made in the Prayer Book, with the avowed object of rendering it more objectionable to them. The Lectionary was altered, and more Apocryphal lessons were inserted. At the same time a new Act of Uniformity was being framed, more stringent than the similar Acts of Edward VI and Elizabeth. The Presbyterians were still being dallied with and deceived.

The Bill passed through its final stages and received the royal assent on May 19, 1662. It comprised thirty-two clauses, prescribing that every minister should 'openly, publicly, and solemnly declare his unfeigned assent and consent' to all the things contained in the revised Prayer Book. This was to be done before the twenty-fourth of August. The date was fixed in order that all who refused to conform might lose the tithes for the current year. Thus the Act was made retrospective. Neglect or refusal to subscribe entailed the deprivation of all spiritual positions and the loss of all emoluments. Persons in holy orders and all schoolmasters were required to declare it to be 'unlawful under any circumstances to take up arms against the King.' Schoolmasters teaching without subscription and licence were to be fined and imprisoned. Ministers were to conform strictly to the Liturgy. For the first time in English history none but priests episcopally ordained were to be inducted to livings or allowed to administer the Sacraments, under a penalty of one hundred pounds. No form of prayer was to be used in any church, chapel, or public place, save as prescribed by law, and no deviation was to be permitted. The dominant faction in Church and State acted in a spirit of revenge. They did not forget or forgive the men of the Commonwealth, who had been righteously provoked by the crushing tyranny of Laud and Strafford. They feared that if Puritanism ever regained supremacy they would be made to suffer, and they were determined to guard against the possibility. Intolerance seized upon fresh legal powers, which recusants were to be made to feel. The struggle had been long and severe, and they were about to exact full vengeance for the Past.

Dismay and alarm prevailed among those who were being driven into Nonconformity. They saw a legalized system of oppression and wrong about to be inaugurated. Puritans within the Church felt that they had been tricked and deceived. This was only the beginning of sorrows. They speedily found it needful to exercise all the patience, and heroism, and integrity they possessed. They had to struggle through difficulties, privations, losses and sufferings. Some had to endure even to death. Their mistaken views and their intolerant practice in the day of power are well known, but to their honour be it recorded that they acted nobly in the day of trial. Few of them failed to abide the test, however painful to flesh and blood, and though it involved the loss of position, comfort, and means of sustenance, and, worse than all, enforced silence, or heavy penalties for preaching the gospel. The struggles through which hundreds of educated, zealous, godly clergymen passed during that anxious summer of 1662 can never be told. No day in the annals of the Church in modern times has witnessed such pathetic scenes and such earnest and faithful preaching as the Sunday before that Feast of St. Bartholomew. The deep fervour of Puritan piety was displayed in those farewell sermons.

Samuel Pepys describes in his *Diary* what he saw and heard in the church of St. Dunstan's in the West, where Dr. William Bates, 'the silver-tongued,' took leave of his attached flock. Many similar narratives exist. Among those ejected were the profoundly learned Dr. Thomas Goodwin, Joseph Caryl, the commentator on Job; Matthew Poole, of the *Annota-*

tions; Dr. Lazarus Seaman, the Oriental scholar; Theophilus Gale, author of *The Court of the Gentiles*; Richard Baxter, prince of polemics and immortalized by *The Saints' Rest* and his *Call to the Unconverted*; Joseph Alleyn, William Bridge and Philip Nye, two of the Five Dissenting Brethren in the Westminster Assembly of Divines; Stephen Charnock, Thomas Brooks, William Greenhill, William Jenkyn, Thomas Manton, David Clarkson, John Flavel, Thomas Doolittle, Edmund Calamy, father and son, Oliver Heywood, and a host of other great names, 'on Fame's eternal bead-roll worthy to be filed.' In moral character, mental endowments, solid learning, university position, pulpit ability, unquestionable godliness, and faithful service they had few equals and no superiors. No difficulty was experienced in filling the vacant pulpits, but Burnet declares that many of the new occupants were mean and despicable, the worst preachers he ever heard, ignorant to a reproach, and a disgrace to their order. One effect of what Archdeacon Hare calls 'this most disastrous, most tyrannical and schismatical Act' was to doom the Anglican ministry to intellectual barrenness and spiritual lethargy for nearly two centuries. Formalism, immobility, exclusiveness and narrowness were enshrined. All power of expansion, of adaptation, and of self-government was lost.

W. H. S. AUBREY.

A CHINESE MYSTIC

PROF. GRILL of Tübingen has just published an able, exhaustive work on Lao-tse, the founder of Taoism, the second indigenous religion of China, which well deserves the attention of students. The translation of Lao-tse's classical work fills less than fifty pages, the rest of the 208 pages being taken up with introductions, comments and notes of the most complete kind. It is scarcely right to speak of Lao-tse as a mystic, as the term implies religious belief, while the systems of Confucius and Lao-tse are simply philosophies or theories of life with nothing of religion about them. God and the spiritual world are equally absent from both. But Lao-tse is the nearest analogue to mysticism which China supplies. His central thought is the regulating and perfecting of man's inner life, as that of Confucius is the regulating of his outward life.

Dr. Grill paraphrases the title of Lao-tse's work as 'The Book of the Supreme Being and the Supreme Good' (Tao-te-king). Tao means simply Way, the rest is interpretation. The right interpretation is matter of endless debate among commentators. The above paraphrase might easily suggest the idea of a personal being, but such is not the meaning. Tao is identified with impersonal reason and force, and yet is the eternal cause of all that exists, including life, reason, and morality. The author belonged to the seventh century B.C. and was contemporary with Confucius, although much older. Tradition speaks of a visit paid to the old by the younger sage, which was not exactly peaceable, as might be expected from the divergence of their teaching.

The famous book, which is the object of unmeasured eulogy on many

sides, consists of eighty-one chapters, each chapter being very brief, often consisting of only a few lines. It begins and ends abruptly, suggesting an unfinished work; and while written in the same proverbial strain, has no sequence of thought, reminding us of the Book of Proverbs with the religion omitted. There is no reason to doubt Lao-tse's authorship in whole or in part, although uncertainty rests on the date and occasion of its origin. It reads like a collection of reflections dotted down as they occurred. It seems early to have borne the name of another sage, Huang-ti, as well as that of Lao-tse; but Dr. Grill regards the former as a mythological figure, a Chinese Demiurge, a World-Builder, the author of all things and therefore of this work pre-eminently. A better idea of the contents of the work can be gained from the summary of its ethical contents given by our author than from the translation, as the original, like so many Oriental works of the class, abounds in antithesis and paradox and buries itself in obscurity. Indeed, without the interpreting clauses added in parentheses the work would be almost unintelligible to Western minds. There is acuteness enough of observation and reflection, food for thought in abundance; the sombre side of life and the world is much in evidence. As we read we do not wonder that Confucius with his optimist faith in man as he is won the day with the Chinese. It would be unfair to represent Taoism by a few quotations.

The point which Dr. Grill labours most is that Lao-tse anticipates Christ even in the requirement of love for enemies. It is certainly a high claim, and rests upon a clause in the sixty-third chapter. 'It is right to work as if one did not work, to enjoy as if one did not enjoy, to treat the small as something great, to see much in little, *to requite enmity with goodwill*, to begin difficult things while they are easy, to set great things to work while they are small.' On the strength of this sentence our author puts Lao-tse ethics above Old Testament ethics, Greek philosophy and Buddhist teaching, and on a level with Plato and the Sermon on the Mount. He also criticizes some English writers who have tried to minimize the above-given teaching. We agree with him when he says, 'In the presence of Lao-tse we stand before one of the most remarkable facts in the history of the human spirit, when we regard the place and time.' But it is a little excessive to go on to say, 'The fact may even lead theologians to a new consideration of the idea of revelation.' The teaching given in the clause in question, from lack of the right context or atmosphere or some other cause, has not borne fruit in history. The teaching of Christ is in harmony with the entire system of truth of which it forms part; all the other teaching is in the same key. Among Dr. Grill's comments is the following: 'The same fundamental moral positions which Christ gains from His historically grounded idea of God and therefore from the standpoint of an absolute personality, Lao-tse reaches from the notion of the world-soul, in the last resort from the notion of the simply universal absolute; but in such a way that this principle is involuntarily more or less personified, his conception therefore approximating to the idea of God in its psychical effect.' Certainly throughout his book Lao-tse personifies Tao. But a consciously personified abstraction can never do the work of

a person, and this perhaps explains the failure or the limited effect of the entire system. It may be well to add chapter forty-nine of Lao-tse's book. 'The perfect sage is not inflexibly severe; he thinks and feels with his people. Whoever is kind (to me) him I treat kindly; whoever is not kind, him likewise I treat kindly. Goodness is indeed virtue. To the upright I am upright; to the non-upright I am likewise upright. Uprightness is indeed virtue. The perfect sage, as long as he lives in the world, labours anxiously in the interest of the whole people to be of the same mind to one as to another. The entire nation directs its ear and eye to him, and the perfect sage treats them all as his children.' The reference here evidently is to the duty of rulers. The ideal of the nation as of the individual is placed high. Lao-tse deprecates fussiness as much as his rival seems to favour it. He has high praise for those who are slow to act, who leave nature or Tao to do its own work. Dr. Grill refers to seventy-nine New Testament passages which seem to contain ideas having affinity with Lao-tse's teaching.

Pythagoras, Marcus Aurelius, Pascal, and other similar teachers are mentioned as counterparts to the Chinese sage. Many translators and interpreters have tried their skill on his classic with varying success. Dr. Grill mentions Stanislas Julien and C. de Harlez in France, Victor v. Strauss and Dvorák in Germany, Henri Borel in Holland, Konissi in Russia, Legge, Giles, Chalmers, Carus, MacLagan in English as good translators. All these are taken into account in our author's own translation. The title of the work runs, 'Lao-tsches Buch vom hoechsten Wesen und vom hoechsten Gut (Tao-te-King), M. 6, Tuebingen, Mohr.'

JOHN S. BANKS.

THE ETHICAL IDEAL—CHRISTIAN AND SANSKRIT

SHAMMAI the severe and Hillel the gentle were great teachers in Israel. A stranger came to Shammai and asked to be converted, if he would teach him the whole law while he stood on one leg; Shammai beat him away in anger. He went to Hillel, who said, 'What is hateful to thyself do not to thy fellow. This is the whole law and the rest is commentary.' Afterwards the stranger met a friend and said, 'The harsh Shammai would have driven us out of the world, but the gentle Hillel drew us nigh under the wings of the divine glory.'

Hillel was himself 'a disciple of Aaron, loving peace and pursuing peace, loving creatures and bringing them nigh to the law of the Holy One.' The command of Tobit, 'Do to no man what thou hatest,' and the other Israelite maxim, 'One should not do what one dislikes to suffer,' became the formative force of his life. He lived what they taught. His life became a seed-germ in the hearts of the meek in Israel until One gentler than Hillel taught 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you even so do unto them, for this is the law and the prophets.'

It is well to ponder all the difference between 'Do not what thou

hatest' and 'Do what thou wishest.' The truth of Christ's word appeals direct to what is best in man and claims its sanction. St. Luke's universal form of the truth, apart from the Israelite limits, does but show the universal human truth. Whatever be the moral culture of man, the meaning, claim, and sanction are at once plain, and what is best in us owns the duty as binding. The more we grow in self-discipline, in all that refines and uplifts man, the higher will be our ideal of what we wish from others. The Saviour's truth touches every one as he is, and yet leads forward to all the goodness that can ever be possible to man.

'Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you and pray for them that hurt you' comes to us out of our Lord's breaking heart as He bore the sicknesses and carried the sins and sorrows of men. His own life completed in death shows the scope of the truth, 'Do unto others as you wish them to do to you.' He was, He lived the truth He taught. His life is our ideal. Through the centuries since, men have searched deeply into the source, the scope, and the sanction of moral conduct. The moral imperative of Kant, 'Act so that the principle of thy action may be a principle of action to all others,' is the fruit of one period of growth and the germ of the present process of growth. We must now search into the whole process of the evolution of our race in moral goodness. No time, no part of the race can be shut out from study. Is our Lord the Moral Saviour of our whole race? What is the relation of His living moral truth to the ideals of other faiths?

Ewald¹ taught that Hillel's saying is much older, and that similar sayings are found elsewhere in different forms. Then adds, 'It occurs to a nation of finer culture everywhere naturally, and is therefore certainly not uttered in the New Testament for the first time.' Holtzmann² wrote, 'Jesus may have been acquainted with Hillel's apothegm, but it was He who first declared the *positive* injunction contained in this dictum of the Law to be the greatest of the commandments.'

We are beginning to feel how unwise it is to make all-inclusive generalizations concerning the moral and religious thought of other faiths. It is hard, if not impossible for a man to live himself into a little of the multiform systems of thought, say, of Sanskrit, so that the living meaning of any part of it grasps him wholly and inwardly, until he see and feel the living relation of each part in the organic evolution of the whole. The value of any statement of the Sanskrit ideal must depend upon the insight gained into the noblest thought and highest purpose of its thinkers, and sympathy with the living effort of sages and saints to reach the ideal. One of the great sources of Sanskrit moral teaching is the Mahā Bhārata. It grew out of and lives in the heart of the people. Therein is written (XIII, 155a), 'That which is disagreeable to oneself should not be inflicted on another, this is the summary of binding duty. In refusing and giving, in joy and sorrow, in what is loved and hated, a man attains the authoritative rule of conduct by considering others as himself.' The compound rendered 'considering others as himself' means the thoughtful comparison

¹ *Hist. of Israel*, VI, 28; V, 280.

² *Life of Jesus*, 511.

of one's self-resemblance in feeling and wishes to others. Imbedded in the Maha Bhārata is the Bhagavad Gita—the Divine Song—a conversation between the Supreme Deity incarnate as Krishna, and Arjuna as they enter into battle. There Krishna teaches 'He who by means of self-resemblance sees the same everywhere whether in joy or sorrow, he is considered as the highest type of saint' (VI, 32). In the Hitopadeṣa—Book of Good Counsel—the same word occurs in the verse, 'As our own lives are beloved by ourselves, so are those of all creatures, by means of self-resemblance, or because of their own likeness the gentle show kindly pity to all creatures' (I, 2). In another verse it is written, 'He who from his own self-resemblance, i.e. judging from his own feeling and motives, judges an evil man to be truthful will be deceived by knaves' (IV, 10). Therefore the judgement by which man places himself in the position of others and considers their need and feeling as his own, enables him to gain the authoritative rule of conduct.

One pervasive element in Sanskrit teaching is called 'Niti,' i.e. guidance, then moral, prudent, and polite conduct, and there are many books devoted to expounding it. The Pancha Tantra was translated into Pahlavi by command of the Sassanian King Nushirvan in the sixth century and thence into almost all the languages of Asia Minor and Europe, and is known as Pilpay's fables. Therein is written of the man who is perfected in gentleness by self-discipline in overcoming passion and desire, 'He who is gentle to the helpful, what quality is there in his gentleness? He who is gentle to the hurtful, he is declared gentle by the true' (I, 270). In III, 103-4, it is said, 'Hear, O people, let binding duty be told in brief; why enlarge to you? Helpfulness to others is goodness, hurting others sin.' 'Let the whole of duty be heard and carefully considered. Things disagreeable, or causing pain to oneself one should not practise on others.' The Commentary adds, 'All creatures are to be looked upon as oneself.'

The Book of Good Counsel, which is largely derived from the Pancha Tantra, teaches—

The gentle show pity even to despicable animals,
The moon does not withdraw light from the lowest outcaste's hut. (I. 4.)

The duty of kings in government is placed in contrast, thus—

The pardon of foe as well as of friend is the adorning of sages,
The pardon of the guilty is the deep disgrace of kings. (II. 10.)

There is a collection of three centuries of verses by Bhartrihari probably written about 2000 years ago. One is the 'Ethical Century.' One section of that is 'The way of helpfulness to others,' the first verse of which also occurs in the drama, 'Çakuntala,' as follows: 'Trees grow bent with ripening fruit, clouds hang very low with early rain, true men are not uplifted by abundance, this is truly the nature of those whose helpful kindness succours others.'

Can there be any well-reasoned doubt as to the spiritual kinship of the ethical ideal in these verses with that of our Lord's truth, or as to the independence of each form of teaching? The contact of Brahman and Briton, of the Sanskrit and Christian Scriptures, and the interaction

of their life-sources in the working out of the life-problems of Empire, what will these evolve of moral moment for manhood? The highest Sanskrit ideal is the gentle meekness that has conquered selfish passion and lives in helpfulness to all. The life of Jesus as He lived His truth 'Love your enemies,' appeals to the highest and deepest in all whose life and thought are moulded by the Sanskrit Scriptures and writings derived from them. His life becomes their standard for judging and condemning all that is un-Christlike in Christians.

The ethical ideal of both families of faiths is the most sacred imperative. If we wish to be true we must strive to live so that the spirit of the ideal shall transfigure life. If the moon do not 'withdraw light from the lowest outcaste's hut,' shall man fail to help the lowest outcaste to gain true, pure manhood? If the tender, merciful Father send rain on the just and the unjust and sunshine upon the evil and the good, can we bound our love to them that love us? If the Sanskrit Book of Good Counsel suggests that the highest ideal of meek, pitying helpfulness may be used as a means to work out selfish treachery, the Christlike man will sorrow over that as if it were the contradiction between what is highest and lowest in himself. If the Brahman see un-Christlikeness in Christians and in Christian society to which Christians are wholly or partly blind, he will act upon the authoritative rule of putting himself in the blind man's place and help him to see if he can. The moral weal of the vast millions of our Empire claims from every man the highest helpfulness to growth in goodness for every man.

The task of helping man to become man is the true task of our Empire. 'Helpfulness to others is goodness, hurting others sin.' 'Do unto others as ye wish them to do unto you.' There lies the infinite task of man. There gleams the path to his goal.

BENJAMIN ROBINSON.

THE RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION OF FRANCE

M. PAUL SABATIER, whose *Life of St. Francis of Assisi* is justly regarded as a classic, has been making a special study of *The Religious Orientation of France* (Paris : Armand Colin). He does not deal with those exterior facts, both religious and ecclesiastic, to which public attention has been drawn of late years, but holds a sort of public inquiry as to the presence or absence of the religious spirit, and the meaning of its actual evolution. His aim is to discover whether it is undergoing some transformation which may open out for individuals and institutions unsuspected horizons. Is the religious sentiment to-day, and is it likely to be for the next generation, an important factor in the history of society? His book is written in a spirit of profound recognition of the past, love for the present, and faith in the future. The absence of documentary evidence as to the things which he is investigating makes M. Sabatier advance with prudence. Brought up as a Protestant, he has sought to do justice not only to his co-religionists but to Catholicism and to freethought.

The war of 1870 was for France the occasion of a religious crisis which

is not yet past. Decimated by the war and stripped of two of her noblest provinces, France felt herself alone. She took refuge in the churches. But the priest, who had been admirable on the field of battle, found nothing effectual to say when France asked for spiritual succour. He provided solemn requiems for the dead, but when the living inquired what they should do the priest was only able to offer poor devotions in which neither the intelligence nor the heart were interested. He recommended miraculous medals, prayers for indulgence, or the organization of some pilgrimage to implore the Sacred Heart to re-establish the Temporal Power, in order to save Rome and France. The old cathedrals were crowded. The death of Monseigneur Darboy, the heroism of many of the parish priests on the eastern frontier and the devotion with which others had organized relief—all this profoundly modified popular feeling about the clergy. The people of France came back to their mother and set themselves at her table, but there was nothing to satisfy their hunger and they turned away regretting that they had ever come. An opportunity so propitious for bringing the Church into contact with the national life was lost, and became instead the origin of fresh misunderstandings. Preachers spread through the parishes who seemed only to have one desire, that of creating hatred of Italy and of men who were held responsible for the disasters of the war, hatred of the laity and the Republican government. Even in the smallest towns people began to see that the Church did not understand, that it was an institution preoccupied above all with itself and its common interests, and that it was not the nation praying and seeking its path.

The indifference with which France watched the laws for the separation of Church and State carried out was a natural result of the national life during the previous forty years. France had trusted the Church and it had failed her in her hour of need. Nor did Protestantism stand the test of 1870. M. Sabatier thinks that where it invited Frenchmen to regard the industrial and commercial prosperity of the United States as a goal towards which Protestantism might conduct them it did not commend itself to the nation. The religious pragmatism which estimated a doctrine according to its material results had something antipathetic to Frenchmen.

The spiritual situation of France has in it at present something extraordinary, incommunicable. There is a feverishness about it which indicates a spiritual crisis. France cannot enter into intimate relations with the mentality of Germany, whether political or theological. The exegetical studies of Germany do not appeal to France, for in Latin countries the Bible has not the importance given to it in a Protestant country. It has never been placed outside history or regarded as the sole authority on matters of faith. M. Sabatier protests against the exegetical indifference of France being construed into a form of scepticism or of laziness. It is simply due to the fact that the Bible has not been regarded as the definitive and absolute revelation. Neither the enthusiasm nor the rage with which Drew's *Die Chrystusmythe* was received in Germany has been understood in France, for the good reason that liberal Protestant theology is as foreign to its thought as Lutheran or Calvinistic dogmatics.

The noble figure of Dr. Harnack inspires among the élite of France the most respectful sympathy and sincere admiration, but this does not lead to communion of sentiment and of effort. Minds in Germany and France which seem made to understand each other have in reality an entirely different orientation. The German theologian devotes himself to exegesis in order to reshape traditional dogma, whilst the French mind sees in history the great reality which it seeks to comprehend in order to harmonize itself with it. Catholicism in demanding cohesion to the Church speaks of a concrete institution, visible and living, of which each is able to recognize the energy, whilst Protestant theologians bind their disciples to postulates without base in history, or contact with the generality of consciences. That is M. Sabatier's view.

There are really two Catholicisms in France to-day. The intransigents and the militant anti-clericalists would deny this. They hold that there is but one Catholicism, which is before all things a discipline to be obeyed. It regards the Roman Pontiff as a kind of incarnation of God. Yet it is just the fact that there are two Catholicisms, one already old and the other quite young, that keeps the Church alive despite the losses which it has sustained. No prophet has dared to predict its downfall. The two tendencies exist side by side, proceeding one from the other. We may consider them apart, though we must never forget that the vital bond which unites them is like that which knits together the generations of men. The power of the Church rests on its recognition of that bond. Its symbolism and its liturgy unite the ages to each other in a mysterious harmony, its discipline makes all share in the same sacrifice. To refuse to see this is to run the risk of failing to understand the events which are passing before our eyes and still more those which are preparing to unfold themselves.

A dozen years ago certain masters in the French universities found their lectures followed with extraordinary ardour by groups of young priests who received with enthusiasm theories devoid of any perfume of orthodoxy. The priests often sought the professor after the lecture in order to gain further instruction. Their zeal and sincerity awoke a cordial echo in the minds of the interpreters of organized freethought. Here and there the anti-clericalists found their presence disquieting. Leo X also became uneasy, and the students of various Catholic institutes received the order not to show themselves at the State Universities. They obeyed, and another bridge was broken. There are two Catholicisms. One builds the bridges, the other destroys them.

The events of the close of the nineteenth century showed that the University movement was only part of a set of circumstances which prepared for a profound evolution in religious Catholic society. Neither orders from Rome nor the wishes of certain polemically minded persons were able to change the situation. The young priests felt themselves strong, and so long as the movement attracted little public attention it was able to propagate itself and to realize itself in all directions. Things changed when the public journals began to take notice of the movement, and from every quarter people flocked to its standard hoping by and by

to create some important situation. Pius X regarded such allies as a formidable army installed at the very heart of the Church to destroy it. Many freethinkers looked on the movement as the Church's attempt to control a state of things which it had long opposed. The Protestants were disdainful, not knowing that what was good in the new movement was their own work.

Modernism, as the Pope called it, has taken diverse forms according to the country, the circumstances, the degree of culture of those concerned. Here it has been philosophic, there historic; sometimes it has been exegetical, social, or political, but it has been predominantly a clerical movement inspired by a sense of the incomparable value of religion in general and Catholicism in particular, as a synthesis of life and of progress. Its advocates believed that when modern thought had been assimilated their own faith would gain new strength, and that an answer would be furnished to the incertitude and the anguished questions of the modern conscience. But the Pope set his face against it, and only about ten of the men on whom, at the end of the pontificate of Leo XIII, it appeared as though the Church might rely for the future, escaped censure.

M. Sabatier thinks that Protestants have offended France by their theological attitude, their critical temper, and their iconoclastic zeal. Catholics hold that their Church is a living tradition, where saints and thinkers of all ages stand side by side.

After the war with Germany France formed her system of primary schools under lay teachers. The need of better education had become manifest. The attitude of opposition and defiance assumed by the clerical party in 1882 towards this system produced a bitter feeling. All weapons were good to combat 'the school without God.' A harvest of hatreds was sown. If the Church had accepted the situation it would have won the confidence of the country. France would have prized her title as the eldest daughter of the Church and would have given her an unrivalled position of honour. Instead of that she was driven to take a path of hostility, and the Church lost great part of her prestige and of her moral and religious influence. M. Sabatier thinks there is a reaction, and if Catholicism comes to separate its cause from that of Clericalism, political, aggressive, violent and intolerant, the idealism which ferments everywhere may lead quite naturally to a renewal of the Catholic religion. Side by side with the rapid progress of indifference there is an unexpected awakening of religious aspirations. Sometimes the double phenomenon may be observed in the same individual. In the midst of spiritual wreck thought is really seeking to erect the foundations and pillars of a new temple out of the feeling of mystery which envelops us, and that sense of the unity and solidarity of all existences across the bounds of time and space. France needs God, and there are many signs that she will welcome the gospel if it is preached with wisdom and true insight into the national spirit.

JOHN TELFORD.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

Voluntas Dei. By the Author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia.*
(Macmillan & Co. 5s. net.)

THE anonymous author of this book has established his reputation for unconventional and suggestive writing on religious subjects. His last book, *Christus Futurus*, was an advance upon his previous work, and we are disposed to think that the volume before us is on the whole his best. It is unequal, and contains chapters which do not advance the author's argument. Just where he should have been strongest, in dealing with the problem of evil, his pen flags, and the chapters at the end of the book that unfold Christian theology are distinctly stronger than those that are concerned with Theism.

The theme of the book is a lofty one—a vindication of the purpose of God in creation and Providence and in the redemption and final destiny of the human race. It is discussed from what may be called a thoroughly Christian, though not conventionally orthodox, standpoint, and the method of proof is such as will only commend itself to prepared minds. But those who are willing to follow the author on his own lines of exposition will find their faith confirmed; and those who do not agree with him, whether they be orthodox or sceptical readers, cannot fail to find much that will stimulate thought if only by way of opposition. One of the most important parts of the argument deals with the relation between Divine Providence and human autonomy; the author lays great stress upon the latter as essential to God's purposes in creation and history, and by means of it he seeks relief from some of the age-long perplexities that have racked the minds of thoughtful men. God, he says, is self-limited, and He suffers continually through the wilfulness and disobedience of man. Christ in His life and death on the earth sets forth the eternal reality of the heart of God man-wards. Through this means, and this only, redemption is to be brought about for the whole race of mankind.

The author is not, technically speaking, a Universalist. He holds that the real punishment of sin is first in pain, then in numbing degeneracy, which, if not arrested, will lead to disintegration of the individual. 'We may hope,' he adds, that such ultimate sterility is impossible, 'that salvation will be all-embracing, but we must admit that neither from the tenor of our Lord's teaching nor from the course of affairs in the world have we any such assurance. But our belief in creative purpose makes it necessary to believe that the final extinction of the individual mind, if it takes place, would be re-absorption into the created life-force to rise again through personality to union with God.'

The book is largely speculative, but it contains a solid core of valuable Christian teaching. It bears the impress of a writer who thinks for himself and has the power of making his readers think for themselves. We cannot illustrate at large, but will close a brief notice with an extract which gives a fair specimen of the writer's theological position. 'From the fact that we now know ourselves to be only an incident in the vaster creative process we are bound to argue that the manifestation of God in Christ shows God's righteousness as a taking of responsibility for the whole vast creative process, as having respect for all the free life He has made, as having fellowship with all joy and all suffering and all sin, and as having eternal patience and love beyond our utmost stretch of thought.' It is fair to add that the phrase 'fellowship with all sin' is intelligible only in the light of explanations given in the context. The author holds as much as any man that God is light and in Him is no darkness at all.

The Oracles in the New Testament. By Rev. Edward Carus Selwyn, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 10s. 6d. net.)

It is difficult to do justice to a work of this calibre and importance within the compass of a review which is of necessity short. It consists of four hundred and fifty pages of closely reasoned argument. In the course of the argument a vast amount of critical matter, both textual and historical, is introduced, and to discuss it as it should be discussed, another treatise of equal dimensions is at once suggested. The argument from prophecy is before Dr. Selwyn, but he deals with it not in the usual manner, but by 'the more extended use of the Old Testament by New Testament writers.' Dr. Selwyn, in his study of the former, came to see that he was dealing with 'Oracles,' and this suggested to him that when Papias wrote of St. Matthew having made a collection of the 'Logia' of our Lord, he referred, not to original 'sayings' of Jesus, but to oracles about Him which had already appeared in the Old Testament. He thinks that just as Saul going in search of his father's asses found a kingdom, 'so we in search of "Q" or some such document may find the kingdom of David in Psalm lxxxix (LXX).'

Dr. Selwyn, in taking up this position, finds himself at variance with the great body of scholarship both ancient and modern, and this is a surprise to him. He complains that scorn is heaped upon 'the argument from prophecy,' but surely that depends upon the way in which that argument is presented. Where the relation of type to antitype is strained or fanciful doubtless scholars will be slow to accept the position to which they are invited, and the scorn which is meted out to those 'in search of "Q" or some such document' will very quickly fall upon the forced analogy or the attempt to place a merely verbal correspondence upon the same platform as that which belongs to a reasonable system of typology.

The interpretation of 'Logia' as a collection of Messianic proof-texts used by St. Matthew has been suggested by Dr. Burkitt (*Gospel History and its Transmission*, p. 127), but in our opinion that interpretation has

been completely set aside by the comments upon it made by Dr. Stanton (*Gospels as Historical Documents*, p. 48), and it does not seem to us that Dr. Selwyn has brought any new matter to light which might lead us to give up the widely held opinion that the phrase from Papias refers to collections of sayings by Christ similar to those which are to be found in the Epistle of St. James, or those which have been unearthed from 'Egyptian Rubbish-heaps.'

Dr. Selwyn then proceeds to apply his interpretation to a number of incidents and histories of individuals as these are given us in the Gospels. Some of these are: The Magi; Herod the Assyrian; the Shepherds; the Transfiguration; the Betrayal; and the last two chapters are headed 'What, then, did Papias write?' and 'Dr. Schweitzer's Questions.' It is impossible for Dr. Selwyn to write upon such topics without contributing to a discussion of them much that is helpful. Indeed, the diligence, the research, and the skill that have gone to the production of this work are beyond all praise, but the conclusions seem to us to be considerably weakened by what we regard as the false position from which Dr. Selwyn starts, and some of the efforts which he makes to find significance in verbal correspondence which is often fortuitous or merely general, appear to be more ingenious than wise. Such an effort is to be found on page 23, where Dr. Selwyn, having quoted from Isa. lx. 6, 'all from Saba shall come bearing gold, and frankincense shall they bring, and precious stone,' proceeds to show how the 'precious stone' of the LXX has become changed into the 'myrrh' of St. Matthew. He concludes that 'the Magi story is built upon the LXX from beginning to end.'

Primitive Christian Theology. By E. C. Dewick, M.A.,
Tutor and Dean of St. Aidan's College, Birkenhead.
(Cambridge University Press. 10s. 6d. net.)

Eschatology has now become one of the vital questions of theology. Schweitzer's *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* has attracted much attention, and a clear survey of the subject was urgently needed. Mr. Dewick addressed himself to the difficult task, and his essay gained the Hulsean Prize in 1908. He has enlarged it with laborious care and made it a trustworthy guide to the whole question. He begins with Old Testament Eschatology, and describes the Apocalyptic Literature of later Judaism in a most instructive way. We do not follow him in his view that in Dan. vii. 27 (compared with v. 14) the 'Son of Man' symbolizes 'the people of the Saints of the Most High,' but his treatment of this and other passages is fresh and suggestive. A study of the Jewish Apocalypses shows the contrast between them and the Gospels. There is little real community of spirit between their teaching and our Lord's. The most valuable section of the book is that dealing with 'Christ's Eschatology.' It represents mature study and patient thought. Mr. Dewick cannot accept the view of the new 'Eschatological School' that neither the Kingdom nor the Messiah were to have any connexion with the things

of earth, but were to be wholly miraculous, spiritual, transcendental. Christ's ministry is only intelligible on the assumption that He believed Himself to possess more than Messianic power over men here on earth. Mr. Dewick decisively rejects the theory that a 'Little Apocalypse' of Jewish origin was inserted by fragments among genuine 'logia' of Jesus. He feels that a piece of literary patchwork by unlearned men could not have produced the coherent effect of the present text of our Gospels. It is 'useless for us to think we can go behind St. Mark's text and discover the original teaching of Jesus by removing a verse here and there.' The evidential value of our Lord's eschatology is clearly seen when we compare it with contemporary Jewish teaching. 'It is obvious that the absence of national prejudices and temporary political schemes in our Lord's doctrine is entirely favourable to the claim that that doctrine is suited for all time. And the same may be said of our Lord's restraint in the matter of detailed revelations of the future.' This is emphatically a book that will repay careful study, and we hope it will have a large circulation.

Character and Religion. By the Rev. the Hon. Edward Lyttelton, M.A., B.D., Head Master of Eton College. (Robert Scott. 5s. net.)

The author of this work has no sympathy with the modern preference for conduct when it is so expressed as to involve disparagement of creeds. He believes that 'character can be trained on moral principles alone.' But instead of supporting his conviction by a discussion of the general question, he selects Humility, and begins by showing that 'unless ethical principles are at least Theistic, there can be no warrant for rating Humility above Egoism.' His ultimate contention is that 'Humility of character, which began with Christianity, has continued as an outcome of a sincere faith in the work of Christ, the Redeemer and Sanctifier of mankind. It may not be the most prevalent or the most striking of the evidences of Christianity, but it is the most attractive.' To avoid monotony, considerable use is made of dialogue; in our judgement, however, the author's direct style is more forceful. The volume needs and will repay careful study. Some of the most helpful passages are found in the Appendix, which contains dissertations, entitled respectively 'The Teaching and Example of Christ,' 'The Influence of Greek Philosophy,' and 'Some Difficulties in Prayer.'

Biblical and Theological Studies. By the members of the Faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3 net.)

The first session of Princeton Theological Seminary began in August 1812, the hundredth session closed on May 7, 1912. These fifteen Essays have been prepared in commemoration of a century of service, and we

wish that some brief history of the hundred years could have been included. Every student is supposed to have taken his degree in arts, or to have had an education equivalent to that of such graduates. How wide a range the studies of the Seminary cover may best be shown by the titles of the papers: 'Theological Encyclopaedia,' 'The Emotional Life of our Lord,' 'The Child whose name is Wonderful,' 'Jonathan Edwards: a Study,' 'The Supernatural,' 'The Eschatological Aspect of the Pauline Conception of the Spirit,' 'The Aramaic of Daniel,' 'The Place of the Resurrection Appearances of Jesus,' 'Modern Spiritual Movements,' 'Homiletics as a Theological Discipline,' 'Sin and Grace in the Biblical Narratives Rehearsed in the Koran,' 'The Finality of the Christian Religion,' 'The Interpretation of the Shepherd of Hermas,' 'Jesus and Paul,' 'The Transcendence of Jehovah,' 'God of Israel.' Every paper is the work of an expert. Dr. Patton's opening essay on Theological Encyclopaedia seeks to classify and systematize the various departments of theological science. Theological learning is not allowed to supersede or overshadow those practical ends for which the Seminary was founded. Dr. Patton describes the systematic theologian as an architect, who is familiar with all branches of theological study and weaves them into one. America has won her greatest achievement in systematic theology particularly among the Presbyterians and Congregationalists. Dr. Warfield's paper 'On the Emotional Life of Our Lord' is a beautiful study drawn from the Gospels, and the address on 'The Child whose name is Wonderful' in Isaiah ix. is worthy of its place beside it. Dr. John DeWitt's 'Study of Jonathan Edwards,' who was Professor of Divinity and President at Princeton College for a few weeks before his death in 1758, is a whole-hearted defence of the man and his teaching. He complains that those who enjoy Dante's *Inferno* execrate Edwards as a monster. 'Modern Spiritual Movements,' by C. R. Erdman, is a paper of real practical interest. In treating of holiness it is said that 'the teachings of Methodism have stimulated the desire for holier living, and have led many to higher levels of Christian experience.' Every paper is a masterpiece in its own line, and the volume will remain as a noble memorial of the Seminary and its professors.

Why Does God not Intervene? By Frank Ballard, D.D.
(Hodder & Stoughton. 5s. net.)

Dr. Ballard has cast a number of the fundamental problems of modern ethical and ecclesiastical interest into interrogatives, for all of which he offers replies, admitting, however, that his answers often lean more towards suggestion than solution for the difficulties involved. Each of the questions deals with a living perplexity. Intense conviction, skilful arrangement, great plainness of speech, clear Saxon phrasing mark every discussion. The interest of the chapters varies with the depth and permanence of the problems touched. Those which deal with the more passing questions of the attitude of the Churches towards the Bible, and

with phases of the popular mind in restless periods of transition such as the teachers of Christian truth have to face at the present time, do not hold the reader's attention as do the author's frank discussion of the abiding and eternal questions that every generation must consider afresh in the light of its advancing knowledge. Dr. Ballard is at his best in dealing with the latter; and we venture to think the value of his latest volume will be found there. The interrogation which gives the title to the book, Dr. Ballard answers without hesitation—'Because He cannot.' He justifies his reply in an admirable discussion of the helplessness of God in the presence of the suffering resulting from the moral action of man. He contends that seven-tenths of the sum of human suffering of the world is thus disposed of. The remaining three-tenths he deals with in Chapter II, in which the main interest is the marshalling of expert opinion to show how largely the mystery of pain diminishes in presence of diminishing capacity for suffering in sentient life in the lower forms of nature. In Chapter III Dr. Ballard states his conviction that there is nothing in God to fear save His love. A later chapter on the survival after death, which Dr. Ballard thinks is brought almost within reach of scientific certainty as the result of psychical research, and one on the Christian Doctrine of Immortality, are interesting résumés of the modern situation. In the class of topics dealing with the attitude of the Churches to the problems of the day there will be greater scope for the criticism of those who disagree with the author. And apart from the discussions themselves many readers may confess to some sense of tediousness in following the elaboration and sometimes the repetition of the writer's indictment; some possibly may also consider that occasional allusions and characterizations met with in these sections are not in the closest conformity to the writer's own admirable canons that 'in transition periods there is even more need of patience than of zeal,' and that 'the whole situation will require the utmost tenderness and wisdom for many years to come.' The quotations in this volume are less numerous than is the writer's wont, and they are seen to better advantage owing to the spacing device adopted by the printer. Dr. Ballard has been deeply moved by Mr. Peile's *The Reproach of the Gospel*, but we imagine that even a distinguished Bampton lecturer might blush to find how often he is recalled as the expert witness in the cases for which Dr. Ballard pleads with such ability and earnestness.

The Credibility of the Gospel. By Monseigneur Pierre Battifol. Translated by C. H. Pollen, S. J. (Longmans & Co. 4s. 6d. net.)

These lectures were delivered in Versailles two years ago as the first part of a course of Higher Religious Instruction arranged by the Bishop, Mgr. Gibier. They begin with Josephus, and the references made to Christianity by Rabbis and Romans; they discuss the Canon; the evidential value of St. Paul; the Acts and the Gospels; the authenticity of the dis-

courses of Jesus, till the concluding lecture brings out with great force 'The Historical Credibility of the Gospel Story.' A bird's-eye view is given of the chief evidences for the gospel, and the argument is fortified by constant reference to the Fathers, and to the conclusions of modern scholarship. The style is so luminous and everything is so beautifully phrased that it is a pleasure to read the book, and it seems to have lost none of its grace in the hands of the skilled translator. Two or three slight references bear witness to the fact that the lecturer is a Roman Catholic, but these are purely incidental. The matchless charm of the Gospels is brought out, and the reader's conviction of their credibility grows deeper at every step. 'The Jesus to whom Paul was converted was the same Jesus whom he had persecuted in His disciples.' It was a mighty victory for Christ. Paul 'threw himself into the controversy with all his noble enthusiasm, and ended in being converted by Jesus Himself to the faith of those disciples whom he was persecuting.' The lectures are the work of a true scholar and teacher, and every Christian teacher will do well to make himself familiar with them.

The International Critical Commentary: a Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Isaiah, i-xxxix.
By George Buchanan Gray, D.D., D.Lit. (T. & T. Clark. 12s. 6d.)

Prof. Gray thinks that much of the interpretation of Isaiah is tentative and uncertain because the text is frequently corrupt. The evidence of the Greek Version has not yet been completely sifted, and metrical arguments appear to be a precarious textual criterion. Our historical knowledge is also insufficient. Winckler's theories of ancient history, geography, and thought do not commend themselves to Dr. Gray. He thinks that the text of Isaiah suffered serious corruption between 700 B.C. and A.D. 100, and that 'ancient as the theory is that he was the author of all the book, it is certainly very erroneous.' He recognizes in it prophecies of the eighth century B.C.; of the sixth or later; and 'the work of an editor who brought together these prophecies which, though so widely separated in time, are intermingled in a single compilation.' The fact that the book is 'a post-exilic compilation,' must be taken into account in all detailed criticism, or interpretation of it. The Book of Ecclesiasticus (xlviii. 22-25) refers to Isaiah's work in the reign of Hezekiah. The book as we now have it contains two groups of prophecies linked by a historical section (cc. 36-9), and it is 'highly probable, if not certain' that these three groups formed the book to which Ben Sirach refers. The whole subject is discussed with scholarly patience and caution in Dr. Gray's Introduction, and a tentative Synthesis is drawn up. Isaiah taught between 740 and 701 B.C., and the booklets of memoirs and poems in which he gathered up his teaching became the treasures of his disciples and their successors. With these other matter was probably incorporated at a later stage. Dr. Gray thinks that these additions may be distinguished from Isaiah's own work by the

political and social implications, the style and language, and the ideas. That will show the character of this illuminating Introduction, and students can work over the ground and form their own conclusions as to the points still in debate. It is impossible to speak too highly of the scholarly labour expended on the notes and in lighting up difficult passages. The translation is spirited, and is made the pivot of the work. It forms a mirror to the numerous uncertainties of the text. Prof. Peake is editing the second volume, and the whole work promises to be the most valuable Commentary to Isaiah that has yet appeared.

Types of English Piety. By Rev. R. H. Coats, M.A., B.D.
(T. & T. Clark. 4s. net.)

Mr. Coats deals with three types—the Sacerdotal, the Evangelical, and the Mystical. These are illustrated by comprehensive and illuminating instances from Bishop Andrewes, George Herbert, and John Keble in the first, John Bunyan and William Cowper in the second, and Henry Vaughan and Samuel Taylor Coleridge in the third. In a concluding survey the author relates all three to the national religious genius of the English, and discusses the question whether we can speak of a national type of piety. The work is marked by true scholarship, by a delicate literary taste, and by deep insight into the mysteries of both organic and individual spiritual life. It is far more than a mere record of 'types': in the accompanying analysis of these we find ourselves confronted by the problems of to-day both in the ecclesiastical and personal sphere. We see the hidden springs of these and their issue in life and character. Mr. Coats has interpreted for us the religious tendencies of our day, and he has done so with a balanced judgement and with a fine literary finish which make his book delightful and profitable reading. We heartily commend this discriminating and illuminating work to our readers.

The Work of the Ministry. By W. H. Griffith Thomas, D.D.
(Hodder & Stoughton. 6s. net.)

When Dr. Griffith Thomas, now of Toronto, was Principal of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, it was part of his duty to deliver frequent addresses to his students on the subjects included under the wide term of Pastoral Theology. These he has now collected, fitted into their place in a fairly comprehensive scheme, and published for the benefit of his younger brethren in the ministry. Several aspects of ministerial life and duty are confessedly omitted; and several are treated from a denominational point of view. That was perhaps right and necessary in the case of the original addresses, which were delivered to men in training for the ministry of one of the Churches. Now that an appeal is made to a wider audience its power would have been increased by the excision of these parochial elements, which, however, occupy a subordinate place in the book, and are confined to three or four chapters. As it is, emphasis is consistently laid on the

more important qualifications of the minister, good practical suggestions are given in regard to many of the details of his work, current problems are faced with a due recognition of their significance and a serious endeavour to help in their solution, and any minister capable of improvement will be stimulated by the book. Occasionally the treatment is a little diffuse, and some of the plentiful illustrations are familiar; but the writer is a master of pregnant phrase, with a shrewd knowledge of both the pulpit and the pew, and many of his sentences stick. That 'orthodoxy apart from holiness is one of the most horrible things in life' would serve almost as the text of the whole, which is a summons to clear thinking, to unremitting diligence in the care of the flock, and to a close walk with God. A useful, though too brief and yet too indiscriminating, bibliography is added of books in English on the various subjects included in the volume.

The Theology of a Preacher. By Lynn Harold Hough.
(Charles H. Kelly. 8s. 6d. net.)

The author is a minister of Brooklyn. It is good to find a preacher acknowledging that a preacher needs a theology and giving a specimen from his own practice. A prime condition is that the theology shall embody his own reflection and experience. This principle the writer has learnt from his own teacher, Prof. Olin A. Curtis, author of *The Christian Faith, a System of Doctrine*. 'In theology a man must live his own life and speak his own message.' Mr. Hough does this in an original, forcible way. His doctrine is evangelical in essence, while free and plastic in form. Opinions about date and authorship and methods of revelation do not affect substance. 'As long as the full sense of the Bible's doctrine of sin, the full glory of the deity of Christ, and the full moral potency of the deed on Calvary are untouched there has been nothing of real value lost.' The style is robust and intense. Strong conviction burns in the words. The twenty chapters are brief, and the sentences have more Hebrew abruptness than Greek sequence. Still, there is ample pith and sequence in the thought. Faith and conduct are equally insisted on. Tauler is quoted as saying 'An anvil may be consecrated and a pulpit may be desecrated.' 'The Great Companionship' is the title of the chapter on prayer, for prayer is companionship with 'the thought, the purpose, and the passion of God.' As to future destiny the author speaks of the relief of believing either in universal salvation or in the annihilation of impenitent souls, but we dare not say either.

The Bible True from the Beginning. By Edward Gough,
B.A. (Lond.) Vol. IX. (Kegan Paul & Co. 16s.)

Mr. Gough has for half a century been minister of a Congregational church in Barrowford, and no one can read this book without feeling that he is a thinker and a scholar, but he is the victim of a theory which makes true exposition hopeless. He thinks that the books of the Bible written in

the third person are not 'literal history, but inspired spiritual history,' and that there is a system of grades in them. This he has set himself to unfold, and it is a strange business. Jethro is Christ. Abraham under the oak is 'the Adamic or Race-Man yet amid heathen conditions.' It is a tangle which makes a reader despair. It is more pleasant to note that the writer regards Charles Wesley as 'a most saintly man, and a veritable seraph in sacred song. It is not in my power to express the debt of gratitude which I feel that I owe to Charles Wesley.'

The Kingdom of God. By William Temple. (Macmillan & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Temple delivered these four lectures at Cambridge during the Lent term under the auspices of the Cambridge Christian Evidence Society. The first is on 'The Founding of the Kingdom.' At the very first Christ rejected the popular conception of the Messiah and gradually imparts the view that He must suffer. By that love of the Cross He wins human love and vindicates His claim to the Messiahship. The second lecture—'Religion and Ethics'—shows that those who follow Him are committed to a religion which must permeate the whole of life. Christ submits Himself to our moral judgement, and in setting before us His moral perfection educates our power to appreciate it. We then come to hate the state of mind which is indifferent to the suffering which God endures for man. In the third lecture we see that 'the Spirit of God is not active in the world in all its power, because part of its instrument is not yet ready to its hand.' The extension of the kingdom is the primary duty of the members of the Church. Whilst we live in a society that is content with pagan standards of conduct in any department, 'we are only as Christian as the influence of England will let us be.' The Kingdom will insist that it has a claim on the individual, and a charge for the individual which must first be met. Mr. Temple does not duly qualify his statements that the good man 'will convert the bad man by consenting to suffer at his hands,' and that the charity of the Kingdom will be 'absolutely indiscriminate and impartial.' His Socialistic leanings come out in the description of competition as 'simply organized selfishness.' The last lecture compares 'Christianity and other theories' as a basis for life in a suggestive way. Broad and clear thinking is the note of this suggestive and stimulating set of lectures.

The Syriac Forms of New Testament Proper Names. By F. C. Burkitt. (Frowde. 2s. net.) Dr. Burkitt's paper read before the British Academy last January is a learned investigation of the names found in the Curetonian MS., the Sinai Palimpsest, and the Peshitta. The startling suggestion is made that Chorazin was the city of Jesus, and that the title Nazarene applied to him is in some way connected with Nazirite. Dr. Burkitt justly describes this as 'a desperate conjecture,' and he certainly raises more difficulties than he solves. But the field is new, and this is a piece of work which scholars will study with close attention.

The Sorrow of the World. By Francis Paget, D.D., late Bishop of Oxford. (Longmans. 1s. net.) This is the first sermon from *The Spirit of Discipline* with the notable essay on Accidie which is a development of the sermon. Nothing could be more timely than this powerful indictment of 'Heaviness, gloom, coldness, sullenness, distaste and desultory sloth in work and prayer, joylessness and thanklessness.' Dr. Paget shows how we may do battle with this sin of accidie, and every one who reads the sermon and the essay will feel stronger for a fight which most of us have to fight.

Novum Testamentum Latine secundum editionem Sancti Hieronymi, ad codicum manuscriptorum fidem. Recensuerunt Iohannes Wordsworth et H. T. White. Editio minor curante H. I. White. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 2s. net.) This edition of the Vulgate follows the text adopted by Bishop Wordsworth and the present editor up to the end of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. For the rest of the text the most important codices have been inspected. A few alterations in minor points of printing, &c., have been made. Mr. White gives a list of the codices consulted, the signs used, &c. The text is beautifully printed, and the little edition will be in great favour with students. St. Jerome would have rejoiced in such a tribute to the monumental work which he sacrificed so much to accomplish.

St. Paul in the Light of To-day. By the Rev. J. O. Bevan, M.A. (Allenson. 1s. 6d. net.) This is a book from which many will strongly dissent. Mr. Bevan does not think that there was a visible appearance of Jesus Christ to Saul on the way to Damascus, but that his convictions grew in the normal way. 'As a matter of fact, St. Paul may be looked upon as a convert of St. Stephen.' He thinks 'there is no reason whatsoever why we all should not be as great as St. Paul.' The book is distinctly 'advanced' though it is always suggestive.

The Two Witnesses: or the Bible True. By Joseph Palmer. (Stockwell. 1s. net.) Mr. Palmer writes as an earnest champion of 'the absolute truth and divine authority of the Old and New Testaments,' but he does not help his cause by his allegorical interpretation of Rev. xi. 3, and his view of the 'Contemporaneous Origin of the Gospels' is fanciful. He is a strong opponent of Higher Criticism, but his extreme position will not commend his book to present-day students. *Patriarchs and Prophets.* By James Smith. (Macmillan & Co. 6d. net.) These 'Old Testament Stories in modern English' are specially intended for children as a companion volume to Mr. Smith's *Life of Jesus Christ*. It is a good piece of work though some of the music has gone. We are surprised to find how much has been packed into one small volume. *Bible Boys*, by Lettice Bell (Morgan & Scott, 1s. net) has ten chapters. Joseph is 'The Boy who was hated'; Moses 'The Boy who had to choose.' The last is 'Wonderful: The Perfect Boy.' It is a bright little book which small children will prize. *Mountain Pathways.* By Hector Waylen. Second edition: revised and enlarged. (Kegan Paul & Co. 3s. 6d. net.) This

study on the Ethics of the Sermon on the Mount deserves the honour of a second edition, and Mr. Waylen has revised it throughout and added new chapters. It is a suggestive book from which Bible readers may learn much as to the chief subjects discussed in the Sermon on the Mount. *Fishers of Men.* By J. E. Watts-Ditchfield, M.A. Third edition, revised and enlarged. (Robert Scott. 2s. net.) One of the great questions for the Churches is 'How to win the men?' Mr. Watts-Ditchfield has solved it in Bethnal Green, and the tact, the enterprise, and the unflagging zeal to which every page of his book bears witness will set an example to every reader. It is pastoral theology alive and on fire. *The Psalms: Notes and Readings*, by F. B. Meyer, B.A. (Morgan & Scott, 2 vols. 6d. net each.) An admirable little pocket commentary full of good things. *The Tabernacle and its Services*, by George Rodgers (Morgan & Scott, 6d. net), makes every detail of the Tent of Meeting lead up to Christ. It is overdone. *God's Out-of-Doors.* By James Learmonth. (Allenson. 3s. 6d. net.) This is the writer's fifth volume of addresses for children. Its texts are found in the crocus, the cuckoo, wasps, snails and other natural objects. The papers are brief but full of life and spirit. Just what a child would enjoy. *A Layman's Perplexities. With an Attempt to Solve Them.* By Samuel Willson. (Allenson. 1s. net.) Mr. Willson wishes to explain the Gospel in terms of the Fatherhood of God, but he does not deal with the subject in a way that is deep or thorough. He writes with much Christian feeling, but the Atonement is too great a theme for him to handle. *Dangerous Deceits*, by Rev. N. Dimock, M.A. (Longmans, 1s. net), is a learned and impartial examination of the teaching of Article Thirty-one as to the Sacrifice of the Mass. It is a strong and wise little book which will do good service to the Protestant cause, and we are glad it has been reprinted. *The Servant: A Biblical Study of Service to God and Man*, by Eugene Stock, D.C.L. (S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d.), is based on a careful consideration of the Greek words in the New Testament and on some Old Testament words and passages, notably the 'Servant' passage in Isaiah. It is a book for Bible students and Christian workers which will strengthen their hands for the true service of mankind. It is high-toned and full of courage.

Heart Cures. By the Rev. Hugh Callan, M. A. (Elliot Stock, 2s. 6d. net.) These expositions of the Beatitudes are suggestive and helpful. They were delivered in the Old Church of Montrose, and they are simple, clear, and practical.

The Scripture of Truth, by Sidney Collett (Partridge & Co., 2s. 6d. net), now appears in a seventh edition. This completes the twenty-fifth thousand, and shows how much the book has been valued by a host of readers. Considerable improvements have been introduced into this edition, and one chapter on 'The Plan of Scripture' has been rewritten. There is a great deal of information about the Bible, though some of its statements will not commend themselves to modern students.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Christianity in Early Britain. By the late Hugh Williams, M.A., D.D. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 12s. 6d. net.)

THE first words of any reviewer of this exceedingly learned volume must be those of deep regret that the distinguished author is no longer alive to see of the fruit of his travail. For many years Dr. Williams was the vice-principal and professor of Church History in the Theological College, Bala. As a student of early Welsh origins he was well known to scholars by his edition for the Cymmrodorian Society, of Gildas' *de excidio Britanniae* with English translation (1899, 1901). In this, however, he mainly followed the text of Mommsen's *Chronica Minora* in the *Monumenta Germaniae*. In the following work, in reality the Thomas Davies Lecture, Dr. Williams has had an opportunity of showing his powers in original work, and the result is to leave us full of gratitude for the work accomplished, full of regrets that we cannot look for future treatises from one whose learning was as profound as his impartiality and freedom from all narrowness of outlook was conspicuous.

Dr. Williams' work is timely. Much attention has recently been bestowed upon the Welsh Church both in political and other circles, and it is well to have an impartial investigation of its early history and characteristics. Hitherto the best books on the subject have been Prof. Zimmer's *Celtic Christianity*, a work full of the defects and excellences of German scholarship; G. Willis-Bund, *Celtic Church of Wales*, in which the author in our judgement is a little too inclined to drive *a priori* theories beyond the limits of safe induction, a work also confessedly written by one ignorant of Welsh literature; and E. G. Newell, *The Welsh Church*, a work that improves as it progresses, but is not of much value for the earliest years. In addition, certain Breton scholars, especially MM. Loth and de la Borderie, have done excellent work, especially in connexion with the emigrations from Wales to Brittany in the sixth and seventh centuries. It is safe to state, however, that Dr. Williams' work is likely for many years to come to be the standard work to which all students will turn. There is little of previous literature on the subject with which he is not familiar; there is a sanity of judgement and an absence of all bias which will make his work acceptable to all students who care more for the truth than interested polemics. No historical library can afford to dispense with this exceptionally learned and valuable treatise. At the same time we must warn the general reader that owing to the death of Dr. Williams there is a certain disconnectedness in the various chapters which makes the work read like a series of detached essays, a fault especially noticeable towards the end of the work.

Here and there we have noted a few slips which should be corrected in later editions. 'Vienne and Lugdunum' (p. 69) is rather a mixed method of writing; either the one should be Vienna or the other Lyons. The doubts as to the attribution of the *de Morte Persecutorum* to Lactantius (p. 97), first started by his editor Brandt, are not, we think, now held by the best scholars. The birth of Constantine in 274 (p. 116) is doubtful, nor is the publication of the so-called Edict of Milan (p. 184) quite certain. Felix of Aptunga (p. 140) should read as Felix of Autumni, this latter being the more correct form. In chap. ix. Dr. Williams gives the date of the Council of Arles as 314. Some indication should be given of a possible date in 316 for which certain scholars have pleaded, and which seems to us the only one that gives sufficient time to allow of the various appeals in the Donatist Controversy. On p. 178 the date of the death of Martin seems to us erroneous. It should be 401; as Reinkens has shown. Nor is the Index always accurate. Columba and Columban are sadly mixed, and two different men called Palladius have been confusedly rolled into one. But these are but slight blots on a great work, whose learning and impartiality it is difficult to appraise too highly. The death of Dr. Williams is not only a loss to Calvinistic Methodism, but to the whole republic of letters.

George the Third and Charles Fox. The Concluding part of the American Revolution. By the Right Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart. In 2 vols. Vol. I. (Longmans, Green & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

Sir George Trevelyan is back on English soil in this volume, and he knows the ground so well that the whole history gains in life and spirit. It opens in the spring of 1778, after ten years vainly spent in seeking to crush the rebellion of our colonies. George the Third had lost all hope of subduing America by campaigns, but he was determined not to acknowledge the independence of the colonies. He wished to use his fleet to destroy their coasting trade and bombard their ports until the rebels were brought to their knees. Meanwhile England was in constant danger from foes in Europe. Every one could see this save the King. Chatham had predicted disaster, but his warnings were unheeded, and the great statesman had the bitter mortification of watching the fabric which he had built up wrecked by the sovereign and his incompetent ministers. His own knowledge was almost boundless, but he was helpless. George the Third had fixed his mind on establishing a solid and enduring structure of personal government. He set the whole machinery of corruption working under his own habitual and minute supervision. He knew the landed proprietors who had boroughs at their disposal, and when he had secured the return of his own men to Parliament he watched every vote that they gave in the House. He lived sparingly, but lavished money on bribing those who could serve as his tools. We see the whole society of the day in this volume. Fox had now ceased to gamble and

was becoming a reformed character. The women of the time were his sworn friends, and Gibbon pays high tribute to his freedom from the taint of malevolence, vanity, and falsehood. Burke's great speeches made a profound impression on the House. During the American War, however, he was 'not sufficiently careful to keep the quality of his speaking up, and the quantity down. But at his best, and at his third and fourth best, he was a noble orator.' His constituents in Bristol showed him no mercy. They 'regarded him in the light of a universal providence for the accomplishment of their personal, and sometimes extremely selfish, ends and objects; and there was no business so intricate and onerous that they scrupled to impose it on his overburdened shoulders.' The story of Lord Sandwich's miserable term of office at the Admiralty brings out the corruption and incompetence of the administration. Admiral Keppel stood out in noble contrast to his chief, and all England went wild with delight when the court-martial at Portsmouth triumphantly acquitted him of charges brought by one of his captains. Another exciting page shows the tragic fate of Major André and the depth of disgrace into which Benedict Arnold fell. His name, which at one time 'promised to be only less renowned and honoured than that of George Washington, was regarded by three generations of his fellow countrymen as a byword for treachery.' Sir George Trevelyan has already written half of his next volume, which concludes the story of the American Revolution. It is a great historic subject, and this volume is full of life and movement. We hope that Sir George will lose no time in finishing it and will then complete the biography of Fox. It is thirty-one years since *The Early Days of Charles James Fox* appeared, and no one can finish that story save Sir George Trevelyan.

The Cambridge History of English Literature. Edited by A. W. Ward, Litt.D., and R. R. Waller, M.A. Vol. VIII. The Age of Dryden. (Cambridge University Press. 9s. net.)

This is one of the most rich and varied volumes in a wonderful history. Dr. Ward's fine estimate of Dryden's achievement closes with this tribute: 'What he did, he did with the whole strength of one of the most vigorous intellects given to any poet, ancient or modern, with constant generosity of effort, and, at the same time, with masculine directness and clear simplicity of purpose. And, though the work of his life is not marble without a flaw, yet the whole structure overtops the expanse of contemporary English literature like the temple shining from the Sunian height over the sea.' Dr. Ward's chapter is followed by a critical study of Butler's *Hudibras*, that 'frontal attack on Puritanism,' which reveals an extraordinary gift of satire and of metrical expression. The sketch of 'Political and Ecclesiastical Satire' will be read with keen interest. A strange contrast awaits us as we pass to 'The Early Quakers,' with its noble quotations from their works. It is one of the outstanding sections

of the volume. The 'Restoration Drama' needs three chapters, and they mirror the time. Mrs. Behn's work is fitly summed up. 'On the score of morality, she is again and again more daring and *risqué* than any of her male competitors in the art of playmaking, and she is as frivolous and as abandoned in speech as the worst of them all.' The brilliant comedy of Congreve culminates in his masterpiece *The Way of the World*, of which a graphic sketch is given. Prof. Saintsbury's learned study of 'The Prosody of the Seventeenth Century' appeals specially to students. 'Memoir and Letter Writers' is delightful, for it brings us into the company of Evelyn and Pepys and other writers of whom we can never have too much. 'The Court Poets' have their own charm; the Platonists and Latitudinarians include Cudworth and Henry More. 'The Divines of the Church of England' will be eagerly read by theologians and preachers; lawyers will turn to the section on 'Legal Literature.' John Locke has a chapter almost entirely to himself; 'The Progress of Science' is a valuable summary to which all readers will be drawn, and 'The Essay and the Beginning of Modern English Prose' shows how our prose style was formed by such writers as Dryden, Cowley, and Sir William Temple. There are more riches in this volume than any review can exhaust, and those who read it will discover new treasure in every chapter, while the bibliographies, which seem fuller than ever, will be a constant help to students.

Life and Letters of John Rickman. By Orlo Williams.
Illustrated. (Constable & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

John Rickman's claim to remembrance stands on the title-page of this volume: 'Lamb's friend the Census Taker.' He appears even more clearly as the intimate correspondent of Southey and the laborious secretary of Speaker Abbot, and afterwards clerk-assistant of the House of Commons. His caustic criticisms on Parliamentary affairs show that under the outward aspect of impartiality the covetous and obliging clerk concealed strong opinions and not a few prejudices. In 1796 he suggested the taking of the first Census, and when the Population Bill passed in 1800 he was asked to superintend the returns. He did his work with such sagacity and industry that he became a marked man, and was soon launched on an official course which continued unbroken till his death on August 11, 1840. He was a leading authority on Poor Law questions and supplied Southey, whom he first met at Christchurch in 1797, with some of his best material for articles in the *Quarterly Review*. Rickman and Southey were congenial spirits, and the literary man welcomed his friend's unsparing criticisms, and acknowledged the constant debt that he owed him. Lamb was introduced to Rickman by George Dyer in 1797, and describes him enthusiastically as 'a most pleasant hand; a perfect man . . . ; the clearest-headed fellow; fullest of matter, with least verbosity.' Twice, when Mary Lamb had been taken to the asylum, her brother stayed with Rickman to be comforted and cared for. Once

when Mary Lamb went to Westminster to plead with him for Martin, who had been dismissed from his clerkship, Rickman walked back with her as far as Bishopsgate Street. We feel as we read these pages that we get into close touch with Lamb and Southey, and see the course of political life in the stormy times of Roman Catholic Emancipation and the Reform Bill. Rickman speaks harshly of Perceval in 1807. 'How could they think of disturbing the dotage of an approved fool, and of making Perceval Chancellor of the Exchequer?' Five years later he tells how Perceval was shot, and 'breathed his last on the green table in my Ho. Commons Room; but I was at home, and saw none of the tragedy. After he was shot he walked on but six or seven steps, as if unconscious, and so much in his usual gait as to be recognized by it through the crowd; when he approached the door of the Ho. Commons, he struck both his hands upon his breast, and fell prostrate. . . . He has rest from his labours—and you and I, and *England*, and *Spain*, and *Europe*, will have cause to rue his death!' Rickman was secretary to the Commissions for the Caledonian Canal and Highland Roads, and became the fast friend of Thomas Telford, the engineer, who was an altogether congenial spirit. He describes him to Southey as 'a very able and very liberal man, whose plainness you will much like.' There was a touch of harshness in Rickman. He had no patience with laziness and incompetence. His letters are somewhat heavy, but he was an entirely honest man, scrupulous and exact in all his dealings. The description of his house, which lay between Westminster Hall and the Thames, brings back a vanished bit of London, and the illustrations are of peculiar interest. This is a book to be grateful for.

The Churches in Britain Before A.D. 1000. By the Rev. Alfred Plummer, D.D. Vol. II. (Robert Scott. 5s. net.)

This is the kind of book that many have been looking for. It gives a clear and most interesting survey of the history of the Churches in Britain when they were far superior to Rome in missionary labours. In Rome Gregory the Great alone seemed to have the genuine missionary spirit, whilst streams of missionaries went forth from the Keltic Church in the sixth and seventh centuries and from the English Church in the eighth and ninth. The English work was better organized and more systematic than the Keltic, and it was much more permanent. By its means the Christian Church in Europe recovered the territory overrun by the barbarians, and occupied ground which the Roman legions had never held. Dr. Plummer gives full sketches of the missionary work of Wilfrid, though when he pleads his cause at Rome he says nothing about this, or his church-building and his zeal for education, but dwells on his opposition to the Keltic usages, his introduction of the Latin chant, and his zeal for monasticism. Boniface far exceeded Wilfrid and Willibrod in labours and achievements. He did more than any other missionary in giving

Christianity a permanent home in Germany and in organizing a German Church. The chapter on 'the Penitential System,' which was an attempt to impose the monastic discipline on the rough, selfish world, will be read with great interest, as also will the survey of 'The Revival under Alfred' and under Dunstan, who continued the great king's work 'in educating, civilizing, and consolidating the nation.' The book is full of facts and everything is so lucid and so reasonable that it is a pleasure to read it.

Methodism. By H. B. Workman, D.Lit. (Cambridge University Press. 1s. net.)

To have such a handbook as this in *The Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature* is no small aid to a better understanding of Methodism, and the task of preparing it could not have fallen into more competent hands. Dr. Workman does not escape some slight mistakes which show that he is not altogether master of the minutiae of a complex subject, but he has the insight and breadth of the philosophic historian, and it is refreshing to follow his discussion of the great features of Methodist history. He divides his book into five sections: The Eighteenth Century, John Wesley, Methodism in America and beyond the Seas, The Divisions and Re-Union of British Methodism, The Theology and Policy of Methodism. There is a 'Select Bibliography,' and Hone's portrait of Wesley forms the frontispiece. In his first sentences Dr. Workman claims the attention of students for 'a Church which enfolds some thirty millions of adherents; which has established itself in every quarter of the globe, with especial prominence in the United States.' He shows how Methodism gained her supreme advantage in the marvellous expansion of which the eighteenth century saw the beginning. 'The failure of the Anglican Church, for reasons partly political, partly spiritual, to respond to the needs of the expanding Empire, issued in Methodism stepping in her own way into the vacant place, and thereby securing the remarkable position that she now holds.' He thinks that the facts of spiritual decadence in the eighteenth century are beyond dispute. We have to beware of exaggeration, yet there is 'a destructive materialistic satisfaction with a level of effort or attainment that at the best was but decent mediocrity.' John Wesley saved England. In him 'the opportunity found the hero.' 'When he saved the souls of the masses, he at the same time preserved the existing framework of Society.' The estimate of Wesley is sagacious and full of sympathy. Dr. Workman deals wisely with the divisions of Methodism, and says that re-union can only come after much patient spade-work has been done. 'In the meanwhile haste may be mischief, and mechanical combinations prevent ultimate organic fusions.' This is a very able and stimulating little book.

History of Nonconformity. Vol. I, to 1660. By H. W. Clark. (Chapman & Hall. 15s. net.)

On no subject is it harder to write a fair book than on questions which concern men's spiritual allegiances, for the simple reason that the very

detachment which might guarantee an absence of prejudice also involves a coldness which creates an evil of its own. Just because the difficulty is so great and the subject so contentious Mr. Clark's success in this volume is the more remarkable. He has written a book which is both warm and fair. He is warmly in sympathy with Puritan ideals, but is not at all afraid of expressing far-reaching criticisms of their embodiments in actual ecclesiastical politics. Indeed one of his main theses is that Nonconformity was badly served by its champions: that is to say, that the spiritual principle of Nonconformity was only partially realized, and still more partially carried into operation by those who championed it: and this is evidently responsible for the egregious failure of Anglicans, as a rule, to be even decently fair to Nonconformity. Mr. Clark also does good service by distinguishing so clearly the three 'strands' of Puritanism in the later years of the sixteenth and earlier years of the seventeenth centuries. It is safe to say that the majority of ordinary intelligent people associated Puritanism almost exclusively with the Independents, and fail therefore to realize that to the earlier Puritan the principle of Separatism was as the sin of witchcraft. One further learns from Mr. Clark's pages that no denomination can ever be trusted with unchallenged authority, whether it be associated with Rome, Canterbury, or Geneva, and he is very frank in his admission of the blots upon the *régime* of the Commonwealth. In short it is a great book, and we shall await with great interest his treatment of the years following 1662.

Nonconformity: Its Origin and Progress. By W. B. Selbie, M.A., D.D. (Williams & Norgate. 1s. net.)

This little volume well deserves its place of honour in the 'Home University Library.' It covers a wide field, but it is eminently readable and is always sagacious and well-informed. It begins with Wyclif, whose doctrine of divine dominion was an anticipation of the Nonconformist spirit. Principal Selbie then describes the Puritan reaction in the reign of Elizabeth, the Separatists, Quakers, Presbyterians, and brings the story down to the time of 'Reaction and Decline' under Queen Anne. In her reign the outlook for Dissent was very dark and the decline continued under the two Georges. The 'normal Nonconformist Churches and ministers looked with great disfavour at first on the revival under Wesley and Whitefield which broke out at this time,' but the day came when they shared to the full in the new life which the revival brought. The account of that revival and its leaders is sympathetic and clear-sighted. The class-meeting is described as 'that most potent engine of the Methodist system.' The sketch of Wesley is admirable. Principal Selbie is not quite fair to Jabez Bunting, whom he describes as 'a thorough ecclesiastical despot,' and F. W. Bourne (p. 191) was not one of the original founders of the Bible Christians. The two last chapters of the book are of the deepest interest to all students of Nonconformity. Of the Methodists it is said that 'in England, and indeed throughout the world, they are among the most progressive

of the Churches.' Wesleyan Methodists are often said to represent 'a conservative and respectable temper as against the more democratic Primitives and United Free Methodists. And yet it is among the Wesleyan Methodists that the great popular missions in London, Manchester, Birmingham, and other centres have been established with such extraordinary success.' We are grateful for such a little book as this, and hope it will have an immense circulation.

Die Vorbereitung des Pietismus in der reformierten Kirche der Niederlande bis zur Labadistischen Krisis, 1670. Von Wilhelm Goeters, Privatdozent der Theologie in Halle-a-S. (Leipzig: T. C. Hinrichs. M.7.)

Herr Goeters, who is a lecturer—not professor—in the University of Halle, has made a special study of Protestantism in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century. He finds *The Preparation for Pietism*—to use the title of his book—in the reform movements which characterize the Calvinism of the Netherlands during this period. In Voetius the reform party found an influential leader, and an instructive account is given of the ecclesiastical and political conflicts in which the Voetians took part. The second part of Herr Goeters' work deals with Labadie and what is known as the Labadistic crisis (1666–1670). A trained Jesuit, Labadie strove to restore the ideal of the primitive Church. The story of his treatment by the Church courts and of the founding of the Separatist society in Amsterdam is carefully and interestingly told. There is no doubt that to understand German Pietism account must be taken of the tendencies outside Germany to which Herr Goeters directs attention. He has written a work of great value to all students of the history of Pietism.

The Beginnings of Quakerism. By William C. Braithwaite, B.A., LL.B. (Macmillan & Co. 12s. net.)

This volume forms part of a comprehensive history of Quakerism as a great department in spiritual religion. Dr. Rufus Jones opened the series with his memorable *Studies in Mystical Religion*, and is preparing a volume on *Boehme and other Mystical Influences*. He also gave us, with the assistance of two other writers, the story of *The Quakers in the American Colonies*. He has contributed an illuminating Introduction to Mr. Braithwaite's book, showing how unstable Fox's psychic constitution was in early manhood, till he found the centralizing and constructive power which 'opened life' to him like a key. Mr. Braithwaite begins his history with a short account of the Puritan revolution. The English Seekers are first mentioned in 1617, and when those in Northumberland threw in their lot with Fox they provided him with a type of meeting out of which his own could naturally develop, and an organization which knit the various groups of persons who held their own meetings into a broader corporate fellowship. The crowded fortnight in and around Kendal when Fox won the hearts of the

Seekers was the creative moment in the history of Quakerism. The chapter on 'Swarthmore' is intensely interesting. Fox's conquest of Margaret Fell and her household gives a striking proof of his power to persuade and convict those who heard him. Judge Fell was from home at the time, but, though his neighbours' reports had sorely troubled him, he soon saw clearly the truth of what Fox said. There were some strange outbursts of fanaticism. One Friend wrote, 'I have strove much, and besought the Lord that this going naked might be taken from me, before ever I went a Sign at all.' About 1674 'John Watson, of Wigton, went naked into Carlisle on a market-day, in sign that though they had thrust Truth out at the gates, it should enter again.' James Nayler's fall into fanaticism, with the brutal punishment he had to suffer in London and Bristol, makes a terrible story. This volume is a mine of information, and Mr. Braithwaite knows how to make the past alive. It is a book that every student of spiritual religion will be eager to have on his shelves.

The Hymns and Hymn-Writers of the Church. By C. S. Nutter, D.D., and Wilbur F. Tillett, D.D. (New York : Eaton & Mains; Nashville : Smith & Lamar. \$2 net.)

This Annotated edition of *The Methodist Hymnal* makes a handsome volume of about six hundred pages double-columned. It gives the text of each hymn in full, with facts as to its source and date, and incidents associated with the hymn. A Biographical Index of 182 pages forms the second part of the book. It has been prepared by two experts representing the two great Methodist churches of the United States, for whose use the Hymnal was prepared by a Joint Commission. Dr. Nutter's *Hymn Studies* and Dr. Tillett's *Our Hymns and their Authors* had prepared them for their task, and the new volume has drawn largely on those works, on Julian's unique *Dictionary of Hymnology*, and many other sources. Robert Spence of York issued a *Pocket Hymn Book* which, in 1790, was reprinted with some variations by Coke and Asbury for use in America. All subsequent official hymn-books of the Methodist Episcopal Church are enlargements and improvements of the Coke-Asbury book. *The Methodist Hymnal* gives due prominence to the Wesleys, but it contains also the choicest hymns of the eighteenth century, and the finest religious verse from ancient and modern treasuries of religious poetry. Its value will be greatly enhanced by this delightful volume, which forms not merely a commentary on the special hymns but a cyclopaedia of hymnology. It has been prepared with the utmost skill and care, and it is hard to find any slips in it. Such a volume will help to cultivate a taste for the study of hymns, and will add sensibly to the pleasure and profit of public worship.

The Making of London. By Sir Laurence Gomme, F.S.A. (Oxford : Clarendon Press. 3s. 6d. net.)

Sir Laurence Gomme finds the fascination of London growing upon him, and he wishes to stir up every citizen to take a keener interest in the

making of the city. He begins with 'The Evolution of the Site.' There is strong evidence for believing that London was the tribal stronghold of Cassivellaunus. The Celtic Britons were the first people who made a homeland of London. Of them and of the Romans in London these pages have much to say. The list of sites where Roman pavements have been found is far larger than most Londoners dream. Ælfred brought London into definite relationship with English national life. He recognized its military position and used it as a defence against the Danes. The Saxons 'entered London, controlled and mastered it, but they did not conquer it.' The Normans made it part and parcel of the national government. To them it 'meant everything constitutionally.' They held it with a firm grip by building the Tower, and their architecture is a great unity. The Plantagenet's grip was that of the Statesman. Sir Laurence Gomme gives many interesting facts as to great Londoners of the successive periods, and gradually reaches his climax, 'London as the Empire City.' We have not seen a more illuminating survey of the whole history, and the fine illustrations add appreciably to the value of a notable book.

London. By Walter Besant. A new Impression with 125 Illustrations. (Chatto & Windus. 5s. net.)

This book was published twenty years ago, but it still keeps its charm, and to get it for five shillings with its wealth of fine illustrations and its stores of historical incident is a stroke of good fortune indeed. The volumes on Westminster, South London, East London are to be issued in the same style, and they will form a little library which every Londoner will do well to make his own. Sir Walter follows the chronological order, bringing back London after the Romans, under Saxon and Norman, in the days of Plantagenet and Tudor, and under Charles the Second and George the Second. It is all picturesque. John Stow talks freely to his successor of the nineteenth century, and we learn much as we listen to the old Antiquary. The book tempts a reader on, for the past seems to come to life, and we get into living touch with the citizens of successive generations and watch the development of the greatest city of the world.

West London and East London, by G. F. Bosworth, F.R.G.S., are welcome additions to the *Cambridge County Geographies*. (Cambridge University Press. 1s. 6d.) They are freely illustrated, and have good end-paper maps. The history and growth of London are clearly outlined, and a great store of information is supplied as to the great buildings, the parks, the Thames and other rivers, the geology, natural history, guilds, trades, architecture and roll of honour. We cannot think of any school book that would be more full of delights for London children, and there is so much to learn about life in West and East London that every citizen ought to feel it a duty to read these little volumes. We think the campanile at Venice is 89 feet higher than that of Westminster Cathedral, which is called the highest in the world (p. 186).

Wimbledon Common : Its Geology, Antiquities, and Natural History. By Walter Johnson, F.G.S. (T. F. Unwin. 5s. net.)

This book, with its four excellent maps and twenty-five illustrations, is one that appeals not only to residents in Wimbledon but to all who love its glorious Common. Including Putney Heath there is a continuous stretch of 1,000 acres, forming an irregular rectangle $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ wide. Richmond Park may almost be added to this. Mr. Johnson gives a very full account of the physical geography and geology of the Common; its sheet of gravel and sand, from 12 to 14 feet in thickness. It bears the mark of river gravel. The great bulk of the pebbles are of flint, but rounded pebbles of white quartz are very abundant. Mr. Johnson discusses these quartz pebbles and tries to form a tentative theory of the formation of the deposit. This is perhaps the most instructive part of his book. A chapter is given to 'streams, brooks, and ponds,' then follows an interesting account of Caesar's Camp, the great archaeological possession of the Common. Mr. Johnson describes its history from early days to our own time, and in a chapter on 'Mansions and Men' helps us to trace the steps of William Pitt and other famous residents. Wimbledon is a bird-haunted suburb, and some delightful pages are given to birds, insects, and flowers. The illustration of the wasps' nest of nine tiers taken last year from a bank above the Queen's Mere is a feature of the book. A list of 'Rambles for Nature-Study' is given and a full bibliography. Mr. Johnson writes in a pleasant style and he knows his subject thoroughly.

An Anglo-Saxon Abbot : Ælfric of Eynsham. By S. Harvey Gem, M.A. (T. & T. Clark. 4s. net.)

Ælfric was born about 955, and educated in the monastery of Winchester, under Æthelwold, afterwards bishop of that diocese. Æthelwold had a kind and winning manner with his scholars and enjoyed teaching them. Ælfric's 'colloquy' with boys shows the same genial temper. The youths were well fed and cared for. The monks had many interests in life. Ælfric found that the people had no English books to teach the truth of God save those translated by King Ælfred. There were many English books that taught error, and he resolved to prepare books of homilies which the clergy, who had little power to make their own sermons, might use to instruct their flocks. Some of these were drawn from Augustine, Jerome, Bede, and other approved 'Catholic' writers; others were based on Lives of the Saints. Of these many interesting extracts are given. His Life of Æthelwold and his Colloquy for exercising boys in Latin are also included. Mr. Gem prefixes a Life of Ælfric, with chapters on Early Monasticism, Anglo-Saxon Literature, Anglo-Saxon Chronicle on the Danish Wars, some Doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon Church and the Teaching of Ælfric on Holy Communion.

Studies in the English Reformation. By Henry Lowther Clarke, D.D., D.C.L. With Portraits. (S.P.C.K. 5s.)

The Archbishop of Melbourne gave these lectures on the Moorhouse foundation. He seeks to show that the Church of England is the ancient Catholic Church of the English-speaking people, reformed in doctrine and worship. In Australia, he says, the Church of England has no prestige which comes from connexion with Court or Parliament, but it has contributed to the cause of 'greater Church union . . . a spirit of mutual respect and understanding, which is the condition of future advance, and the presage of greater things.' The laity in Australia have a recognized place and vote in legislation and administration, and this has been 'the strength and stay of Church life, and has established a government which adapts itself to the varying conditions of democratic expansion.' Archbishop Clarke dwells chiefly in his lectures on the religious and ecclesiastical side of the English Reformation, grouping around the biographies of Wolsey, Thomas Cromwell, Cranmer, Parker, Bancroft and Laud the great questions of their time. His Introduction deals with the principles involved, and the biographical sketches give life and reality to the treatment. The old days are almost brought back. It is a churchman's view of the history, but it is marked by sound learning and good feeling.

Some Things we have Remembered. By Percy M. Thornton, LL.M. With Portraits and other Illustrations. (Longmans & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Percy Thornton did good service as Member for Clapham from 1892 to 1910, and was the last resident in the famous Battersea Rise House where Henry Thornton and William Wilberforce planned their great campaign against the Slave Trade. His wife is Henry Thornton's granddaughter, and he is himself the grandson of an elder brother, Samuel Thornton. Some pleasant details are given as to the Yorkshire Thorntons and of John Thornton, the philanthropist of Clapham. Percy Thornton's father had an overwhelming desire for the sea, and rose to be Admiral Thornton. Of his naval career and of his wife's family their son gives many interesting facts. The story grows more vivid as we reach his own boyhood. When the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Eugenie visited the Crystal Palace in 1855 with Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, he was there. 'The pressure of the crowd was terrible, and years afterwards a woman told Mr. Thornton that she was on the point of fainting and only saved herself from falling under the feet of the multitude by using a long shawl-pin freely around her.' The chapters on Harrow are delightful, and Cambridge men will turn with eager interest to the record of sport and study at the University. Mr. Thornton speaks modestly of his service in the House of Commons, but he has much to say about parties and famous leaders, and this part of his book is a mirror of the times. We are grateful for this pleasant record of a truly 'noble' house.

On the Backwaters of the Nile. By the Rev. A. L. Kitching, M.A. (T. F. Unwin. 12s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Kitching has spent ten years as a missionary among the outlying tribes of the Uganda Protectorate, and describes their daily life and customs as he has seen them in his travels and labours. He gives some interesting details as to the Bantu and non-Bantu tribes which cluster round the Baganda. They are a heterogeneous company representing every stage of civilization. A missionary's life in such scenes is full of change and movement. If he does not know how to do a job he must set to work and learn as he goes on. Services in church are not free from interruption. One Sunday, Mr. Kitching's congregation began suddenly to look upward, and he found a small snake hanging from the thatch close to him. He borrowed a stick, exterminated the snake, and finished his sermon. Another Sunday he had to give up service to attend to a man who had just been brought in badly mauled by a leopard. It had taken off the top joint of his thumb and made several large claw wounds on his head. Smoke is all-pervading in an African house. There is no chimney, and food and clothes are steeped in smoke. Among the Nilotic and other tribes, who do not wear clothes, the houses are 'as far as possible ventilationless, while at the same time the floors are kept clean swept and smeared with cow-dung.' Family and social life centres round the food supply. Day after day comes the same brown porridge, 'the only chance of variety being in the relish used with it or an occasional potful of potatoes or cob of maize roasted in the ashes.' This sameness explains the native's eagerness to get a morsel of meat whenever possible. Quantity, not quality, is what appeals to him. He expects to feel full after a meal, and 'no worse disgrace could be incurred by a host than to let his guests go away capable of eating another mouthful.' A chief at a native reception to celebrate a European wedding exclaimed 'Another morsel would be death!' Mr. Kitching gives many interesting particulars as to the language, social life, dress and ornaments, craft and implements, pastimes, &c., of the people. The book is pleasantly written and has fifty-six illustrations from the author's photographs.

Wanderings in Arabia. By Charles M. Doughty. Being an Abridgement of *Travels in Arabia Deserta*. Arranged with Introduction by Edward Garnett. Two vols. (Duckworth & Co. 10s. net.)

This abridgement appeared in 1908 and was reprinted the same year. It now appears in the 'Crown Library' at a price which brings it within the reach of a much wider circle. The original work has long been out of print, and its 1100 pages made it too formidable a task for the ordinary reader. Much detailed information has been omitted by Mr. Garnett, but as far as possible the personal narrative has been retained. It is the most vivid description of desert life that was ever penned, and the stately Elizabethan style in which it is written has made it rank as a classic,

though not without a spice of affectation. We see the professed Christian moving safely among fanatical Arabs with 'gentleness, courage, humanity, endurance, and the insight of genius.' To read such a book is to get into the very heart of desert life.

The Beginnings of History. By Ellen M. McDougall.
(Charles H. Kelly. 2s. 6d. net.)

Lady McDougall must have studied 'many a quaint and curious volume of forgotten lore' in order to produce this book. It begins with 5500 B.C., and deals with nothing later than 300 B.C. Written as a school text-book, it is something much more interesting than that, and the elders among us will find real profit from the perusal of these pages, for they furnish an epitome of the whole history of civilized man continuously, from the beginning down to the point where even 'ancient' history usually begins, and widen our mental horizon considerably. In some respects the book compels an alteration in our ideas, and corrects misconception, as, for instance, when it shows that by no means all that is worth having in civilization has come from the white races of the world, and convinces us how much we owe to men of the yellow and the black. Learned, painstaking, and profitable, this book is really good to read and to study.

We are glad to note that a second and revised edition of *Principal Workman's Church of the West in the Middle Ages* (Charles H. Kelly, 2s. 6d.) has recently issued from the press. The alterations, it is true, are but slight, the most notable being in respect of the bibliographies, which have been very thoroughly overhauled and brought down to date. The fourteen years which have elapsed since the publication of the original edition had made this very necessary, and the serious student will be wise to place a copy of the new edition upon his library shelves, even though he may already possess the first. Another new feature in this re-issue is the addition of a short but valuable appendix on *Cyril and Methodius*. We cordially wish success to this new edition of a work which we have always regarded as one of the most suggestive and enlightening studies in Church history known to us.

The Life and Times of St. Dominic. By the Rev. de Lacy
O'Leary, D.D. (S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d.)

Dr. O'Leary regards Dominic as the founder of the leading educational movement of the Middle Ages. 'St. Francis worked in the slums; St. Dominic laid the basis of work in the university, in the training of preachers and their equipment.' Dr. O'Leary points out that the duty of extirpating heresy was not entrusted to the Dominicans till nine years after their founder's death, and he thinks that he had no share in the blood-thirsty crusade against the Albigenses in 1209, but he afterwards recognized Simon de Montfort as lawful ruler of Languedoc. His service to education

is indisputable, but Dr. O'Leary does not make a reader love him better. His whole spirit and temper is harsh, and presents a painful contrast to the gentleness and goodwill of his contemporary, St. Francis.

Rationalist English Educators. By Geraldine E. Hodgson,
D.Lit. (S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d.)

Locke based his system of education on definitely philosophical principles. For him it was not a fortuitous game but an art lying squarely and truly on reasoned principle. Dr. Hodgson is lecturer on Education in the University of Bristol, and she gives an interesting sketch of Locke's immediate predecessors, especially 'the long-neglected but sagacious' Richard Mulcaster, who was head master of Merchant Taylors', and looked on education as a national concern. An outline of Locke's life and a chapter entitled 'Locke as a man' lead up to studies of his ethics, psychology, and educational views. The Edgeworths and Mill are dealt with in the same thorough style, and a final chapter describes the lacunae of Rationalist education, notably its neglect of the feelings and of that 'ineradicable factor in human life, Love.' Ample quotations are given which show that the over-emphasis of reason leads to the neglect of feeling, the sense of beauty and the action of the will. These have to be brought into their place, though they cannot be trained apart from the reason. The book is full of interest and will be of great value to students of education.

The Canon Law in Mediaeval England. By Arthur Ogle,
M.A. (Murray. 6s. net.)

The Rector of Otham sets himself to answer Maitland's treatise on the Canon Law which is being used to strengthen the argument in favour of Welsh disestablishment. Maitland's chief witness is Lyndwood's *Provinciale*, or gloss on the provincial constitutions of the Archbishops of Canterbury, which was finished in 1430. He was the Archbishop's principal official, so that he is the chief authority of the time. Maitland thought he saw in the book 'a stark papalism, which leaves little enough room for local custom, and absolutely no room for any liberties of the Anglican Church which can be upheld against the law-giving power of the Pope.' But Mr. Ogle holds that it was really intended to disabuse men's minds of any suspicion of Papalism. He was trying to bring the current law of the Church into line with the buoyant spirit of Nationalism. Mr. Ogle maintains that his book is evidence that 'the English Church possessed, in her provincial legislation, a body of national Canon Law, of substantive authority, and valid, on occasions, even as against the decretals.' The argument is clear and forcible.

Records of a Family of Engineers. By Robert Louis Stevenson.
(Chatto & Windus. 6s.)

There is much in this book for those who know the wild seas which Stevenson's father and grandfather robbed of so many of their terrors

by the northern lights. The story of the conquest of the Bell Rock is heroic, and it is told by Robert Stevenson himself. There are some thrilling adventures in the book, and many quaint touches in the record show the hand of the literary craftsman. We wish a bibliographical note had been prefixed, and the book ends abruptly with the building of the tower on the Bell Rock. It is a very neat and well-printed edition.

God's Image in Ebony. By T. H. Darlow, M.A. (Young People's Missionary Movement. 1s. 6d. net.) This volume has been written for those who might find *The Future of Africa* too advanced. It describes Africa and its people, tells about its explorers and missionaries, and has a chapter on 'Negro Possibilities' which will encourage all who are trying to raise and help the black man. Mr. Darlow's book is full of facts, and it is intensely interesting.

Letters of Robert Southey. A Selection edited, with Introduction and notes, by Maurice H. Fitzgerald. (H. Frowde. 1s. net.) This is a very welcome addition to The World's Classics. In this appetizing Introduction Mr. Fitzgerald says the letters 'breathe an atmosphere as clear and bracing as the air on some Cumberland mountain-top. They set before us a character conspicuous for its generous affection, its cheerful devotion to duty, its quenchless enthusiasm, its disciplined strength.' They show us on what affectionate terms the writer stood with the literary men of the day. He tells Scott his first impressions on reading 'The Lady of the Lake,' and advises Mr. Wynn to read *Elia*. 'It is by my old friend, Charles Lamb. There are some things in it which will offend, and some which will pain you, as they do me; but you will find it a rich vein of pure gold.' We strongly advise every one to get this little book and to read every sentence in it.

Wesley's Veterans. Vol. III. (C. H. Kelly. 1s. net.) This new issue of The Finsbury Library opens with The Life of John Nelson, the shrewd and sturdy Yorkshire stonemason to whom Southey, in his Life of Wesley, gives such prominence among the 'helpers' of the great evangelist. It has long and worthily held its place among the classics of English evangelical biography by its thrilling interest and by its racy, vigorous style. Nelson was as skilful and as handy with the pen as with the chisel, and he writes with the directness and the ardour of his God-lit Yorkshire soul. To this is added the brief autobiography of Thomas Lee, another Yorkshire worthy, and the *protégé* of Grimshaw, and the Life of John Prickard, the saintly Welsh evangelist, also 'written by himself.' These finely printed volumes should find an eager welcome amongst students of religious psychology and lovers of religious biography. The additions and annotations by the vigilant Connexional editor add greatly to their interest and worth.

True Stories of Durham Pit-life. By George Parkinson. (Kelly. 1s. net.) This is a delightfully unaffected little book. The writer was born in 1828 and began work in the pit when he was nine years old. He gave it up in 1850 after a terrible explosion in which he nearly lost his life, and earned a modest success in business. For fifty years he has been one

of the most popular local preachers in Durham. He knows how to tell a story, and the book is a true picture of the pitman and his work in the North of England. It has not a dull page.

The Call of the Pacific. By the Rev. J. W. Burton. (Kelly. 2s. net.) This volume is intended for Missionary Study-circles, and they could not have a more enthralling text-book. Mr. Burton has prepared it at the request of the Methodist Branch of the Laymen's Missionary Movement in Victoria, and the facts and figures which he gives will make a deep impression. The beauty of the Pacific and the interest of the child-races with which it is peopled are well brought out by the text and the splendid set of illustrations. Mr. Burton leads us from one group of islands to another, describing the people, their religion, and the missionary work done among them. Fiji, with its terrible record of cannibalism and its glorious missionary triumph, makes an enthralling study. New Guinea still presents a gigantic task. Less than one-sixth of the population has as yet been touched by missionary agency, and that but slightly. The book is delightfully instructive, and it will make the missionary fire burn more brightly wherever it is studied.

Our Homeland Churches and How to Study Them. By Sidney Heath. (Homeland Association. 2s. 6d. net.) This is the most compact and complete little book on its subject that we know. It is light and can go easily into the pocket, it is full of admirable illustrations that are a real guide to the student, it is pleasant to read, and Mr. Heath has had advice and criticism from some of the chief authorities on English church architecture. We notice no reference to the famous frescoes at Chaldon, or to the double sanctuary at Compton, but there is an excellent account of the Saxon churches at Bradford-on-Avon and at Worth, and every page of the book shows with what care and skill it has been compiled. There is a very full glossary and ample indexes. The little book ought to be in great demand, and we should like to see it in the hands of all young people who are inclined to cultivate a delightful hobby. The Homeland Association is doing much to make the riches of town and country known to all.

Pater's *Renaissance* is one of the new treasures of Messrs. Macmillan's Shilling Library. It is the fifteenth reprint of an English classic which reveals, 'perhaps, the sincerest emotions of a mind at its freshest and strongest.' Those who wish for a critique of the book will do well to turn to Mr. A. C. Benson's *Walter Pater* in *English Men of Letters*. Pater's Epicureanism comes out notably in the 'conclusion' of the volume, and there the reader needs to read with caution.

Mr. Murray has done all of us a kindness by including Dean Stanley's *Historical Memorials of Canterbury* in his Shilling (net) Series. It is one of Stanley's most attractive books, and the twenty-eight illustrations come out splendidly on art paper. Every lover of English history and English cathedrals will want this volume.

La Bataille de Tripoli (Oct. 26, 1911). Par F. T. Marinetti. (Milan-Corso, Venezia 61.) Signor Marinetti was present at the battle of Tripoli,

of which he gives a vivid account. We have no sympathy with his views on war as the 'only hygiene of the world and the sole moral educator,' but his picture is a work of art, and his defence of the Italian army against charges of brutal cruelty is effective.

Mr. C. R. L. Fletcher has prepared a *Teachers' Companion to the School History of England* (Clarendon Press. 1s. net), written by Mr. Kipling and himself. References to authorities and explanations of difficult points make this a splendid help for teachers. It is brought well up to date, but on p. 59 it might have referred to the Standard Edition of Wesley's *Journal*.

James Chalmers: His Autobiography and Letters. By the late Richard Lovett, M.A. (Religious Tract Society. 1s. net.) This is the eighth edition of a notable book. James Chalmers was one of the great missionaries of the nineteenth century. He was a man after Robert Louis Stevenson's heart, and no one will wonder at it as he reads this volume.

Messrs. Morgan & Scott issue (1d.) in Mr. Harding's *Revival Series of Booklets*, capital brief biographies of Earl Shaftesbury; James Turner, the Peterhead Herring-curer; John MacGregor; Gavin Kirkham; Ira D. Sankey; Brownlow North, Henry Moorhouse, and W. C. Burns.

Peter Thompson: The Romance of the East London Mission. By George A. Leask, M.A. (Kelly. 6d. net.) This is a story that fills one with new courage for hard tasks. Peter Thompson gave a quarter of a century to East London, and every stage of his career is told in this charming little *Life*. To get it for sixpence is an opportunity that no one should miss.

Dynamic Christianity. By Levi Gilbert. (New York: Eaton & Mains. \$1 50c.)

Dr. Gilbert has for twelve years been editor of *The Western Christian Advocate*, and has also had wide experience as a pastor which gives much practical wisdom to his new volume. He is convinced that the mystical element in Christianity has of late been greatly neglected, and 'that there must be a return to the clear recognition that the religion of Christ depends for its effectiveness and triumph upon a divine, supernatural power, defying all naturalistic explanations.' It is 'dynamic—an effluence from the Omnipotent.' His book is full of this power and its triumphs over sin in all its forms. Illustrations from the story of mission work on both sides of the Atlantic are given, and these alone should commend the volume to speakers and preachers. The Rev. R. J. Campbell said that he thought Chicago lacked 'soul'; Dr. Gilbert wishes that 'the Chicago Spirit' might spread over Christendom. There would be speedier advance and more glorious accomplishment for Christ and His kingdom in wise and wide-awake mass-movements. Dr. Gilbert thinks the outlook in the religious world is hopeful. The Laymen's Missionary Movement and the Brotherhood Movement are full of promise. This is a stirring and stimulating book.

GENERAL

The Lay of the Niblung Men. Translated from the Old German Text, by Arthur S. Way, D.Lit. (Cambridge University Press. 10s. 6d.)

THE great Teutonic Saga of the Volsungs has exercised an immense fascination over scholars and poets ever since its rediscovery about a century and a half ago. It exists in various forms, the earliest being that given as an episode in our own English epic of *Beowulf*—a form so primitive that Sigurd himself has not yet appeared. Another form is that of the Norse *Volsunga Saga*, which was taken by William Morris, and enriched by additions from the tiny Icelandic epics that clustered round the central tale, until it became, in the *Story of Sigurd*, 'the most Homeric poem since Homer.' But England had not yet done its duty by the Saga. A third great setting exists—the High German *Nibelungen Lied*. Until this form also was naturalized in England, our country could not be truly said to be seized of its great Niblung inheritance: the 'Hoard' remained in the Rhine, whereas the Thames has an equal claim to it. At last, however, the work may seem to have been done. Is it possible that Dr. Way has set the *Lied* beside *Sigurd*?

Of Dr. Way's skill as a translator there is no need to speak. Ever since, thirty years ago, he delighted the world by giving it the best English version of the *Odyssey*, a succession of renderings of great classics has steadily confirmed his repute, until it is now above cavil. We might say to him what Deschamps said to the 'grant translateur, noble Geffroy Chaucier'—

Enlumines le regne d'Eneas,
Semé les fleurs et planté le rosier;
Aux ignorans de la langue pandras,
En bon anglès le livre translatas.

He has now for the time being deserted Greek, and given us a most spirited and vigorous version of the *Lied*. For his metre he has adopted the free anapaestics of Morris; in our opinion the only possible choice. After Morris had shown what could be done with that measure for the Norse form of the Saga, it was scarcely open to any one to depart from it in rendering the High German form. Wisely, too, Dr. Way has discarded the strophic divisions of the original, which tend to disguise from the reader the fact that the *Lied* is not a ballad but an artistic and regular epic. Despite the attempts of many scholars to give *Beowulf* a strophic arrangement, it is tolerably certain that even that epic, early as it was, had discarded the ballad form; and there can be no reason why that form, abandoned by our own poet in the seventh century, should be retained in dealing with a German lay of five hundred years later.

In the original, as in *Kudrun* and other German poems, the fourth line of each stanza has an extra foot, which, however satisfying it may have been to the old hearers, has an irritating effect upon modern readers. Thus (stanza 1394)—

Him she, in full forgiveness kissed on Burgundian soil;
Then with hot tears began she once more her dainty robe to spoil.

This device, of course, Dr. Way has very wisely dropped; but he has given himself compensation by taking full accentual licence, especially at the break of the line. For example (stanza 289)—

That the maiden may greet him : of the honour shall we win us enduring grace.

This freedom, which is precisely in the spirit of Old English poetry, gives to Dr. Way's version an ease and a lightness not to be attained by any rendering that seeks to keep the iambic structure of the original. 'The essence of a poem lies in its spirit,' says Dr. Way with truth : 'and whatever jars on the reader, and puts a drag on the swift and easy movement of the verse, so far interferes with his entering into the spirit of that poem.'

We have but one possible quarrel with Dr. Way, that he has, in certain cases, improved on his original. To catch the exact *flair* of a poem six hundred years old, to feel precisely as the contemporary hearers felt, is impossible; but we have a shrewd suspicion that we are often deceived by Dr. Way into thinking the old bard a better poet than he really was. Whether this is a fault we know not; if it is, it is the fault of Chaucer, of Coleridge, and of Dr. Way; it is not the fault of poetasters. But we confess we see no trace in the original of the Tennysonian echo in stanza 624—

But amidst of his guests for the host-king time traileth a broken wing;
of the Shaksperian reminiscence in 882—

Even Hagen of Troneg was pricking the sides of his intent;
or of the still more obvious (919)—

Fleet thou the time all-careless : I may not tarry here.

We could point out line after line in which we fancy that Dr. Way's love for the splendid and sounding has led him to do a noble injustice to his original. But, as we have hinted, if he is mad in this, we wish he would bite some translators we could name. In any case his is a true poem, pleasant to read, and still better to recite. As the *Lied* is not equal to the *Volsunga Saga*, so this poem is not equal to the *Story of Sigurd*; but it is not unworthy of a place next to its immortal model.

The Passing of War : a Study in things that make for Peace.

By William Leighton Grane. (Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

Prebendary Grane has made a substantial contribution to the peace of the world by this well-reasoned and high-toned book. He cannot

agree with Mr. Norman Angell who, in *The Great Illusion*, took the ground that self-interest alone would suffice to bring war to an end. Mr. Grane urges that 'there is abundant call for the transforming power of that higher spirit than the world can produce which lies in the depths of all men's consciousness, and which alone is able to change the evil nature out of which war-motives spring.' He believes that 'Civilization will finally exchange the cult of blood and iron for that of national fraternity only through the growing prevalence of Moral forces.' In probing the war disease he sees how 'once war is declared, the peoples involved become immersed in a sea of concentrated passion, and possessed with an absorbing impulse of destruction. The more complete the destruction the greater the rejoicing. The thing becomes a mania.' Mr. Grane does not forget that soldiers and sailors constitute a Power as necessary for Peace as for War. 'Nothing whatever is wrong about the soldier or the sailor, except that the evil *régime* under which the world is groaning compels their maintenance in ruinous numbers chiefly for hypothetical use.' There is no law in human nature which makes war an enduring necessity. Labour is really the great Educator and the essential watchword of all permanent advance. The average working-class Ideal seems to be made up of Religion, Association, Liberty. The masses are never found belittling the Sermon on the Mount. 'Despite the Babel of contending sects, the people hold by Jesus Christ.' Patriotism may be degraded to selfish ends, but when it takes broader views it is no enemy to peace, but a means of promoting concord and good-will. The searching chapter on 'The Call of Religion,' will make Christian men anxious to set forth something nobler than the appeal to force. We have made the call as to war's passing indefinite by our qualifications instead of imperative and clear, but better days are dawning. Prebendary Grane faces the 'Difficulties' in a powerful chapter. He holds that the 'chief immediate hindrance to European concord is the miserable attitude of mutual suspicion existing between England and Germany, for which both countries are to blame, and, in particular, the Press of both countries.' His discussion of this subject is of great weight and present importance. A warm tribute is paid to President Taft. His great Treaty is 'the sowing of living seed, having within it a spontaneous vitalizing power, from which eternal increase can enfold.' We hope that every statesman and leader of public opinion will study this noble and convincing book.

The Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne in the County of Southampton. By Gilbert White. With Illustrations in colour by George Edward Collins, R.B.A. (Macmillan & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

This is a handsome edition of our great Nature classic with green cloth covers, wide margins, and delightfully clear type. In every respect the get-up is worthy of Gilbert White's masterpiece. We wish he could also have studied the twenty-four illustrations supplied by a young and rising

Surrey painter. The pictures here reproduced attracted considerable attention when exhibited in the West End, and were warmly praised by the critic of the *Times*. Mr. Collins spent some weeks in Selborne, and we believe that for one of these illustrations thirty separate drawings were made. The artist knows how to use his field-glasses, and pursues his observations with a patience like that of Gilbert White himself. The swallows and martins clustering on the chimneys form a singularly effective picture, a wren is caught in the very act of song, and some young swallows are perched on a leafless bough where they are being fed by the parent-bird. The sand-martins on a rail make a very pretty picture against the hillside. We have views of Selborne from the Hanger, the Upper Stream, and the lane to Alton with a pair of glorious pheasants. Bean's Pond makes a beautiful picture, and we have good illustrations of Wolmer's Pond and Wolmer's Forest. Mr. Collins also shows us Selborne Stream, the trees on the Hanger, the Lithe, and various points of interest in Selborne. The Old House at Empshott and a hop garden are very successfully done and the colour-printing is itself a work of art. Such an edition will appeal irresistibly to every lover of White's Selborne.

Messrs. Jack have done a bold thing in issuing *The People's Books* at 6d. net. They are daintily bound in green canvas, well printed on good paper, and supplied with really helpful illustrations. The writers are experts in their own province, and bring out the assured results of Modern Knowledge in a clear and attractive way. Each of the first set of volumes has its own interest and value. *Pure Gold* is a charming selection of Lyrics and Sonnets, by H. C. O'Neill. It will be greatly prized by all lovers of poetry, for it is full of gems. A. G. Ferrers Howell's *Dante* is the best brief Introduction to his life, writings, and teachings that we know. Prof. Herford's *Shakespeare* gives a short biography and a compact study of the Early Plays, Plays of the Lyric Period, The Great Tragedies and other groups. It is an admirable little book. *Mary Queen of Scots*, by Elizabeth O'Neill, is enthralling. Every one will be anxious to read Mrs. Fawcett's history of *Women's Suffrage*. She is an ardent advocate, and thinks that the cause is 'constantly making a nearer approach to success.' *Roman Catholicism*, by H. B. Coxon, gives an explanation 'of Catholic belief' based on the proceedings of the Council of Trent and the Vatican Council of 1870. It will be eagerly scanned by Protestant readers. Many will be grateful for H. W. Carr's little book on Henri Bergson. Bergson himself read the proofs and suggested the sub-title 'The Philosophy of Change.' Small books on Science are of special value, and Norman R. Campbell's *Principles of Electricity*, Prof. Cohen's *Organic Chemistry*, J. A. S. Watson's *Heredity*, with its chapters on Mendelism, will be very much appreciated. Mr. Maunder's *Science of the Stars* handles the subject in a fresh and most instructive fashion, and Dr. Marie Stope's little book on *Botany* ought to be in the hands of every young student. Nothing could be better than Dr. Russell's brief biography of *Lord Kelvin*, which sets the man and his scientific work clearly before even a non-scientific reader. Mr. Whetham's *Foundations of Science* deals with the

Classification of Knowledge and with Physical, Biological, and Psychological Science in a biographical manner, which makes it very pleasant to read. *Home Rule*, by L. G. Redmond Howard, is a little book of living interest. *The Growth of Freedom*, by H. W. Nevins, handles a vast subject in an illuminating way. *A Dictionary of Synonyms*, by Austin K. Gray, is well arranged and has an Introduction which ought to be studied with close attention. Such little masterpieces are a boon to busy men, and we hope they will really become *The People's Books*.

The Romance of Words. By Ernest Weekley, M.A.
(Murray. 3s. 6d. net.)

Prof. Weekley is head of the Modern Language Department at University College, Nottingham, and has here put the treasures gained in his long study of words at the service of all who find pleasure in tracking out their history and derivation. He has tried to bring out the unexpected in etymology. Jilt stands for jillet, the diminutive of Jill, which is short for Gillian or Juliand, 'so that jilt is a doublet of Shakespeare's sweetest heroine.' The word, of course, is not intended to cast any slur upon Juliet. Tammany was an Indian chief with whom Penn negotiated the purchase of lands. His name was given in the eighteenth century to a Society in Pennsylvania, we suppose, though Prof. Weekley's phrase—'a Society named after the patron saint of Pennsylvania'—leaves us in doubt whether Penn or Tammany was the patron saint. Mulligrubs appears as mouldy grubs in the seventeenth century. Mully is still used in dialect for mouldy, and grub is the name for worm. The oldest meaning of the word is stomach-ache. Chare, which is used in *Antony and Cleopatra* (iv. 15) for a turn of work, still survives in charwoman and in the American chore. The chapter on 'Etymological Fact and Fiction' gives some entertaining particulars about anecdotic etymology. Cabal occurs in English long before Charles the Second's acrostic ministry. 'Tobacco does not take its name from the island of Tobago, but from the native name of the tube through which the Caribs smoked it.' Canary comes from Canary Islands, to the largest of which the Romans gave the name Canaria because of the dogs found there. Brazil was the name of a dye-wood as early as the twelfth century, and it was afterwards given to the country in South America. Every lover of words will find this book full of treasure.

Essays and Criticisms. By Thomas Gray. Edited with
Introduction and Notes by Clark S. Northup, Ph.D.
(Heath & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Northup gives Gray's notes on the *Phaedo*, and his brief essays on the Philosophy of Lord Bolingbroke, on Norman Architecture, on Verse and Metre, with his critiques of John Lydgate's *Prose*, Samuel Daniel, and a Selection from the letters. It is choice work, though it does not go

very far, and it is a great boon to have it collected in this attractive volume. Dr. Northup is Assistant Professor of the English Language and Literature in Cornell University, and his brief Life of Gray, with the estimate of his place as a critic and the reason for his limited 'productivity,' is admirably balanced. 'We never find him wedded to a theory; he is never blinded by the brilliance of a particular meteor or comet; he scans the heavens steadily; and the different magnitudes of the stars are evident to him.' The volume will be welcomed by all lovers of Gray's poetry, and they will find some fine passages. He tells Norton Nicholls, 'I rejoice you have met with Froissart: he is the Herodotus of a barbarous age; had he but had the luck of writing in as good a language, he might have been immortal! His locomotive disposition (for then there was no other way of learning things), his simple curiosity, his religious credulity, were much like those of the old Grecian.'

Religious Education in the Home. By John D. Folsom.
(New York: Eaton & Mains. 75c.)

It is one of the cheering characteristics of the present day that more thought and study are given to the education of the child than at any previous time. Definite knowledge on such a complex subject comes slowly, but it is now generally recognized that the home should be the chief educative force in the up-bringing of children. The author of this interesting manual has developed this idea in a practical form, and in his chapters on Environment, Imitation, Training, &c., he has sought to accentuate the fact that instruction is not teaching. He is inclined to the belief that environment is the ruling factor in the development of the moral and spiritual life. His note on suggestion is particularly valuable, and his five practical rules should be studied by every parent. Indeed, we would carry his argument still further, for we believe that much of the crime of to-day is contagious. Reading and talking about crime is a sure way to poison the mind.

In simple language the author endeavours to prove that 'with wise methods and God's gracious help, it is comparatively easy to save the five-year-old child; at ten the parent's opportunity is greatly lessened; at fifteen he must call in the help of the Church, and then, with all outside assistance possible, bitter experience proves that the chances are more than even that the boy or girl will be lost.'

The Dust of Desire. By Evelyn S. Karney. (Robert Scott. 3s. 6d. net.)

Miss Karney has undertaken to paint a picture of Indian life in the days of Buddha, five centuries before the time of Christ. No attempt is made to portray the personality and winsomeness of the great teacher, and only a few suggestions of the social life of the time appear in the pages; but the doctrines which Sakya Muni preached are clearly and forcefully stated, generally in the actual words used in the Buddhist Scriptures.

How did these doctrines affect common life—the life of the home; what light had they to throw upon suffering—the sorrows of the human heart? A householder, husband and father, goes forth from his home to find 'the way,' leaving all, with never a look behind, so anxious is he to obtain the blessings which the Lord Buddha preached to a weary world. The wife, bereaved doubly by the loss of her husband and the death of her child, seeks for present help in her sorrow from the new religion, and for light in regard to the future of her loved child, but seeks in vain. She eagerly listens to the best that Buddhism can offer, from the lips of his admirers, from the lips of his disciples, and ultimately from the lips of Buddha himself. But no word has power to heal the wounds of her sorrow, or to bring hope and rest to her troubled heart. Her search, however, is not in vain; light comes to her in her great darkness; but it is through the teaching of a merchant Jew, not through the founder of the new religion or his followers. It is the Jew who tells the stricken woman of the hope which the Jewish Scriptures reveal. And as she listens to those grand sentences from the Old Testament, and hears of a personal, loving God, she accepts the truth with gladness, and peace comes to her soul. The story sets forth the essential teaching of Buddhism in the simplest and clearest form. It shows that Buddhism was unable to satisfy the heart's deepest need. The prefatory article by the Rev. W. O. E. Oesterley, D.D., gives the book an additional value as an exposition of Buddhism.

More Animal Romances. By Graham Renshaw, M.B., F.Z.S. Illustrated. (Sherratt & Hughes.)

Dr. Renshaw makes the animals of the forest live before our eyes. He shows us the quieter side of their existence, and allows us to watch many a pitched battle between them. The description of the Secretary bird's fight with the puff-adder is very realistic. The adder empties its poison fangs harmlessly into a deftly-interposed wing until all its venom is expended and it falls an easy prey to its destroyer. The contest between a pair of goat-like thax with long shaggy hair and short stout horns ends with the victor's war dance over his mangled foe. Then the snow leopard falls like a thunderbolt on the neck of the victor, and after a desperate struggle the thax lies dead under the leopard. Some of the most successful among the romances are the word-pictures of the primaeval world and its giant animals. Dr. Renshaw's exact knowledge of the appearance and habits of living animals gives great force to his sketches. They are not merely entertaining but singularly instructive. We hope there will be yet another volume as well illustrated and as readable as this.

A Shakespeare Glossary. By C. T. Onions, M.A. (Clarendon Press. 2s. 6d. net. India paper, 3s. 6d. net.)

This Glossary is an outgrowth of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, and has cost its compiler the working days of a year and a half. It comprises nearly ten thousand separate articles, which give 'definitions and illustra-

tions of words or senses of words now obsolete or surviving only in provincial or archaic use, together with explanations of others involving allusions not generally familiar, and of proper names carrying with them some connotative signification or offering special interest or difficulty in the passages in which they occur.' For such a piece of work every student of Shakespeare will be grateful, and it has been carried out with the skill gained by fifteen years on the staff of the *Oxford Dictionary*.

The Connexion between Ancient and Modern Romance. By W. J. Courthope, C.B. (Frowde. 1s. net.) Mr. Courthope shows by examination of various tales that Mediaeval Romance was 'the result of a gradual process of evolution, being an imitation, from age to age, of the contemporary manners of feudal society, under the garb of supposed history.' In course of time the poetical genius of the 'trouvère' prevailed over the love of historical truth felt by his partner, the monkish chronicler. The historical element declined, the fictitious increased. From first to last there has been 'a continuous stream of thought flowing through the imaginative literature of Christian Europe.' It is a subject of great interest, and the lecture deserves attention.

Tree Lore. By Francis George Heath. (Kelly. 3s. 6d. net.) No writer on Natural History has a higher reputation than Mr. Heath, and this is one of his most charming books. Its one hundred and twenty-five chapters cover the whole range of tree lore, and those who know most about the subject will find much here that is fresh. The frontispiece is an extraordinary fungoid found on a tree in the neighbourhood of the Klondyke. There is a valuable list of Indigenous British Trees and Shrubs, giving their names, heights, times of flowering, and the colour of their flowers. The book is eminently readable and instructive. There is not a page which does not tempt quotation. The chapter on 'Topiary' brings back days of clipped yews and distorted shrubs, and makes us appreciate Gypsin's denunciation of the practice. 'Top-logging' takes us to Epping Forest and its customs. We ramble over England, learning something wherever we go. Every tree seems to have its place here. The book will cultivate rural tastes and give many pleasant hours to all who make it a familiar friend.

La Calprenède's Romances and the Restoration Drama. By H. W. Hill. (University of Nevada.)

Mr. Hill published the first part of this study in 1910. His object is to show how the French romances by La Calprenède influenced Dryden and other Restoration dramatists. He constructs a composite romance built up on stock situations in two of the Frenchman's romances, and points out how the plays follow that pattern. Dryden in his *Conquest of Granada* uses much the same stock characters as La Calprenède, and builds them up in the same way. Mr. Hill illustrates this with much skill. Then he takes Samuel Bordage's *Herod and Marianne*, and compares it with

La Calprenède's *Cleopatra*. Parallel passages bring out the extent of the Englishman's indebtedness. Lee's *Gloriana* and *The Rival Queens* and other plays are discussed in the same scholarly fashion. Students of the Restoration Drama will owe much to the learned research of Mr. Hill.

The Watchnight. By Henry Bett. (Stanley Paul & Co. 6s.)

Written in strong, lucid English; vivid in style; interesting in plot; faithful and sympathetic in its presentation of the Methodist and Jacobite period; charming in its delineation of the chivalrous character of its adventurous hero, a well-educated Cornishman and Methodist preacher; this live novel by Mr. Bett will take a high place among the best attempts to present the eighteenth century in romance. John Wesley, Dr. Byrom, Silas Told, Mr. Holme of Sykehouse, the Moravians at Herrnhut, Richard Vivian, Jacobite maiden, conspirators, smugglers, and the Mayor of Newcastle-on-Tyne, are all portrayed with a fidelity to fact and character which reveals a careful study of a fascinating period. The chapters on 'Herrnhut' and 'The Silesian War' are of historical value, and though the conventional novel-reader may be tempted to skip them, the discriminating will appreciate the skill with which they are interwoven with the thread of a story full of pathos and tragedy, and rich in humane and spiritual suggestiveness.

Eucken and Bergson: their Significance for Christian Thought. By E. Hermann. (James Clarke & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

This valuable little book attempts to present the thought of Eucken and Bergson in its specific bearing upon the problems of theology. Prof. Eucken has himself taken a warm interest in its preparation. The writer first makes a diagnosis of our age, illustrating the subject by *Robert Elsmere* and Clough. The popular mind is apt to conceive of the philosophy of the future as 'a somewhat coarse-fibred pragmatism, often taking the shape of a strongly ethical voluntarism.' 'Men are everywhere feeling the hollowness, the contradiction, the spiritual bankruptcy of our sleek and well-to-do culture.' Eucken has shown that even our defective appreciation of the teaching of Jesus has raised the life of the human spirit and enriched the thought of the world. The biographical details as to Eucken and Bergson will be very useful to English readers, and a discriminating sketch is given of their teaching. Eucken's divergence from historical Christianity is pointed out. The critic thinks that his attitude towards the person of Christ and the religious emotions is not sufficiently experimental. His critique of Christianity leaves us unsatisfied because it does not start from that experience of redemption which is the basal fact of religion. The account of Bergson's philosophy is based mainly on his *Creative Evolution*. He 'calls upon the soul of the age to shake off the

yoke of a usurping intelligence, place itself humbly in the stream of creative life and so make contact with reality.' The writer is not only an acute critic but a lucid and interesting expositor.

Is the Mind a Coherer? By L. G. Sarjant. (George Allen & Co. 6s. net.)

Mr. Sarjant holds that men so resemble each other that they are adapted to be instruments in coherence, constantly receiving impressions from each other. He argues out this position in a way that is far from easy to follow, but there is much to learn about philosophy and science from his closely sustained discussion. He will have nothing to do with the conversion of matter to mind. If we view our lives, beginning and maintained on 'a coherer basis' that 'must stand for a personal God, an originator who cannot possibly be less personal to me than I am personal to myself.' The conclusion is, 'I am face to face with a living and personal God.' The whole aspect of things is lighted up. He says, 'If we are coherers, there will supervene in our views of life an added sense of its beauty, its wonder, its dignity, but none the less in the common practice of life we shall see and talk and hear and think all the day long just as we are doing now.' We can strongly commend this book to thinkers who like to wrestle with a great problem.

Poems of Faith and Hope. By Eliza Duncan Percy. (Kelly. 1s. net.) This little book is both tender and suggestive. Mrs. Percy had a poet's eye and heart, and some of her Scripture pieces are very happy. There is strength in the more sombre verses, 'John the Baptist in prison,' and the eight lines headed 'Luke' have a touch of mystery. Christ comes to the dying fisherman with the old word, 'It is I, be not afraid,' and as He speaks 'The boat is at the other side.'

Hard Questions. (T. F. Unwin. 1s. net.) The writer of this book is, we take it, a retired clergyman who has found his path beset with problems, and 'his neat and compact little heap of inherited and acquired opinions washed and weakened by the incoming waves of knowledge.' Some of his questions do not seem very hard to answer, others chiefly concern Churchmen. His questions deal with prayer, special providence, pain and other subjects in a reasonable spirit, but we cannot understand how the writer has been so long and so greatly perplexed by difficulties which all thoughtful men have to face. Some strong and wise words are spoken on discipline in the Church of England.

Choirs and Sunday School workers should not overlook four little books of *Modern Festival Music* (6d. each), which each contain twelve popular hymns for Anniversaries and Flower Services. There is also a set of *Carols of the Resurrection* (6d.) which ought to be very popular, and sacred songs by Reginald F. Barclay, A. Hallam Simpson, and Noel Johnson (1s. 6d. net each). *An Album of Six Sacred Songs* (3s. net) by Mr. Johnson will appeal to all who want to find good music matched to inspiring words. All are published by Messrs. Morgan & Scott.

'The King of Love my Shepherd is,' from the Cantata, *A Song of Thanksgiving*, will be very much appreciated as an anthem (Kelly, 2d., Tonic Sol-fa edition 1d.). 'Easter Morn,' words by D. D. Fletcher and music by Arthur Berridge, is a timely addition to the 'Choir' series of Tonic Sol-fa Anthems (1½d.), and 'O Paradise' is an anthem set to music by Dr. A. H. Edwards. 'The Lord is my Strength,' by the Rev. T. Wilkinson Stephenson, B.A., and 'Come, let us Worship,' an Introit by Ernest Edwin Mitchell (2d. each), are welcome additions to 'The Choir' series of Anthems, and 'Surrounded by a host of foes' is arranged with organ accompaniment by Mr. M. L. Wostenholm (2d.). Book VII in *The 'Choir' Series of Voluntaries for the Organ*, with pedal obbligato, by Fred James, Mus.B. (First Series, 1s. net), is divided into seven parts. Hints are given to the musician as to the stops to be used at certain points, and the music is well printed. It will be a great boon for organists to get such choice music in so convenient a form.

Old Stories and Sayings from Many Lands, compiled by Isa F. Mayo (C. W. Daniel. 6d. net), make a unique series of six booklets illustrating the character and thought of the races among whom the stories originated. Mrs. Mayo has kept as far as possible from beaten tracks, though some of the sayings are well worn, and has sought to awaken international and inter-racial sympathy and understanding. The little books are full of good reading, and there is many a gem to be gathered. There is an exquisite Russian saying, 'The Face of Christ is like all men's faces?' From the Low Countries comes that satire on the drunkard, 'He would rather have a bumper in hand than his Bible.' Japan and China have a volume to themselves and every page is golden. 'If a man is without moral character,' say the Japanese, 'what good can the fine arts do him?' From China comes the counsel to 'Hear people's words and look at their conduct.' Tropical Africa speaks in that word, 'The Sun is the King of torches,' and there is true shrewdness in that saying, 'The tongue kills a man: and the tongue saves a man.' Those who prize folk-lore will have many a pleasant hour in turning over the stores here brought together.

Social Creed of the Churches. Edited by Harry F. Ward. (New York: Eaton & Mains. 50c. net.) This volume is authorized by the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. A series of Social Service handbooks is in preparation, and this volume is intended to prepare the way. It deals briefly but suggestively with Child Labour, The Employment of Women, The Sweating System, A Living Wage, and kindred topics, supplying an outline for study and furnishing lists of books for those who wish to investigate any subject more closely. It is a sensible and timely book.

Sunday School Teaching: Its Aims and Methods. Edited by the Rev. H. A. Lester, M.A. (Longmans & Co. 2s. net.) The Bishop of London in his brief Introduction to this volume says that few things are more urgently needed in the Church to-day than a complete reformation and transformation of our Sunday Schools. 'The material is splendid,'

yet there is a sad waste for lack of training. It is hoped this book will do something to supply this need. It is written by well-known experts who deal with such subjects as Child Nature, How a Child learns, How to teach the Bible, How to prepare and give the lesson, How to manage a class. It is a workmanlike book, full of hints that will greatly help teachers in winning attention and impressing the truth on the minds of their scholars.

Should the Negroes of the Methodist Episcopal Church be set apart in a Church by Themselves? By Daniel W. Shaw. (New York: Eaton & Mains. 35c.) Dr. Shaw thinks that the negro members of the M.E. Church can never entirely feel at home there. The presence of the negro in the M.E. Church is also largely responsible for the delay in its Union with the M.E.C. South. He states his case clearly and calmly.

The Gathering of Brother Hilarius. By Michael Fairless. (Murray. 1s. net.) The charm of this old monastic story has carried it through six editions and won it a place in Mr. Murray's Shilling Library. It is exquisitely written, and to know Hilarius is to love him.

A Living Wage. By C. C. Cotterill. (Fifield. 6d. net.) This little book is worth reading. It shows the need of providing a living wage for all willing and capable workers, and urges that a Royal Commission should be appointed to formulate a scheme. The case is well put, and every Englishman would rejoice if some wise and workable plan could be devised for dealing with the whole problem.

Careers and Work for All, by Captain Petavel (Pioneer Education Colony, 1d.), describes the Swiss colony at Witzil, and pleads for the formation of Educational Colonies such as that at Stanford-le-Hope. The work is certainly very promising.

An Indian Priestess, by Ada Lee (Morgan & Scott. 1s. 6d. net), is described by Lord Kinnaird as a wonderful life. The writer is the wife of a American Methodist missionary, and the little priestess is a Brahmin child widow who visits the four great shrines seeking rest. It is an impressive story.

Open-Air Meetings and How to Conduct them. By Joseph J. Waterhouse. (Kelly. 2d.) This is the work of a very successful evangelist. Real experience and strong sense are manifest in every suggestion, and it is all practical and helpful. Every open-air speaker ought to read it.

Moths of the Months, by S. N. Sedgwick, M.A. (Kelly. 1s. net), is a little pocket guide with many illustrations and some expert advice as to the way to find moths, to identify and to classify them. Mr. Sedgwick is a prince of popular naturalists, and this is one of his most attractive pocket books.

The London Diocese Book for 1912 (S.P.C.K. 1s. 6d. net) has been edited by Prebendary Nash with the skill that comes of intimate knowledge. Everything that concerns the diocese is here in the most convenient form. A Registry for the Exchange of Livings in the Province of Canterbury has been formed, and should do good service.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Hibbert Journal (April).—Theological articles predominate in this number, and several of them are full of interest. Prof. Gilbert's attempt to test the history of the Gospels by 'The Jesus of Q'—a wholly hypothetical document—is an example of modern documentary criticism run mad. First suppose a document consisting almost entirely of discourses and then reject as unhistorical all facts not supported by it! Prof. Desai defends the Brahma doctrine of Hindu theology against Christian strictures, and it is a sign of the times to find to-day an advocate of the religious philosophy known by 'The dear name, Vedanta' vindicating it from the charge of Pantheism. Of the success of the attempt we leave others to judge. Mr. William Dillon, brother of Mr. John Dillon, M.P., discusses *The great question, What is to become of me after death?* and concludes, as wise men have long ago concluded, that so far as reason alone can answer the question it furnishes nothing more than probability, the measure varying according to the temperament of the reasoner. Baron von Hügel's article on Eucken is interesting both for the subject and the name of the writer, and it is more useful than most discussions on Eucken, because Baron von Hügel, an authority on mysticism, takes the trouble to put his points with clearness and precision. The value, as well as the deficiencies of Eucken's philosophy are well pointed out. Of the other articles perhaps the most notable is the first, in which Mr. R. A. Duff shows very clearly that the rapidly increasing number of strikes and their increasingly national character will shortly necessitate national action, probably in the form of compulsory arbitration. The writer has full sympathy with working men and is not an advocate of repression, but he sees that 'the Public' will soon have to take care of itself.

Journal of Theological Studies (April).—The Macbride sermon on *Messianic Prophecy in relation to Christ*, preached this year by Rev. G. H. Box, is reprinted as the first article in this number. It contains a plea that in Jesus of Nazareth Israel should see not the destroyer of the Jewish race but its glorifier. Unfortunately, the antagonism between Church and Synagogue still survives and shows few signs of diminishing. Reformed Judaism moves towards Theism, not towards Christianity. Dean Armitage Robinson's paper on the *Didaché* would lead to the conclusion that the 'Teaching of the Twelve Apostles contributes almost nothing, except doubtful exegesis, to advance our knowledge of the early Christian ministry.' But Dr. Robinson's arguments are highly speculative, and it remains to be seen whether any portion of them is likely to be accepted by scholars.

Prof. Burkitt gives an interesting account of a MS. of the Odes of Solomon which had been lying in the British Museum for seventy years, and duly catalogued for forty years, before Dr. Rendel Harris' discovery of a copy in 1909 that has made so much stir! Dr. Burkitt describes the religion of the Odes as 'the Greek Mystery-religion, transfigured by the historical event of the Incarnation.' Dom Chapman, discussing at length the identity of the Zachariah of Matt. xiii. 35, and Luke xi. 50, concludes that there is no late quotation in this passage, and no interpolation, but that this Zechariah is 'the son of Jehoiada, who called upon God to look upon his blood and require it.' Amongst the reviews, an interesting criticism of Prof. J. Ward's *Pluralism and Theism*—a book with which a great many will have to reckon sooner or later—is contributed by Dr. F. R. Tennant. He regards the volume as 'the most solid contribution to the philosophy of Theism that has appeared for many years,' and eulogizes 'the richness of the contents of the book, while reserving his own judgement at certain points of the argument.

Holborn Review.—The April number opens well with a notice of Wendland's defence of miracles by Prof. Humphries. It is well that Wendland's timidity as to New Testament miracles should be noted, as well as his general indication of the place of miracle in history. Dr. James Foster's paper on the treatment of the theological virtues in Dante is valuable, especially as leading its readers directly to the poet himself. Prof. Peake's article on *Some Recent Work in Anthropology and Religion* includes a review of nearly a dozen books on these important subjects. A general survey by such a teacher as Dr. Peake, who knows how to act as guide in a difficult region, is very useful. Other articles are, *The Value of Modern Psychology to the Preacher*, by Atkinson Lee; *Sacred Stones*, by William Upright, and *Christianity at the Cross Roads*, by Joseph Rutherford.

The Expositor (April and May).—Dr. Kennedy continues his examination of the connexion between St. Paul's teaching and the mystery religions, and Sir W. Ramsay furnishes a further instalment of his papers on *The Teaching of St. Paul in Terms of the Present Day*. Dr. Peake's memories of the late Principal Fairbairn are more interesting than those of Sir W. Ramsay, as being more personal and characteristic. Harnack's article (translated by Helena Ramsay) on St. Paul's *Hymn of Love*, deals with the religious-historical significance of the famous chapter, 1 Cor. xiii. Prof. Eerdmans' discussion of the Ark of the Covenant is conservative in tone. He holds that 'we need not accept the view that the ark was a sanctuary to be used in holy war, nor that it was an old Josephitic fetish; we have only to interpret the text of Exodus in the light of the history of religion.' If we mistake not, the same key will have to be used to open other Old Testament locks, rather than the fantastic ones provided by certain extreme modern critics.

The Expository Times (April and May).—The Editor's 'notes of recent exposition' always form, and rightly, the leading feature in this magazine. In these numbers the notes deal with such diverse subjects as Quaker-

ism, Liberal Judaism, Prof. Cairns' remarkable article on 'Christian Missions and International Peace,' Mysticism, and the perpetually recurring question, 'What is wrong with the Churches?' Dr. Selbie's Thoughts on the Comparative Study of Religion—an address delivered in Aberdeen—are very well worth reading. Dr. Dick Fleming describes the message of Rudolf Eucken to his time. Dr. Garvie's article on the doctrine of the Incarnation in the Creeds is too brief an instalment of a larger whole for the reader to judge of the argument. Interesting articles by Methodist writers are Rev. F. Balch's *Wesley's Doctrine of Assurance*, and a study of the phrase *The Heavenly Places* in St. Paul, contributed by Rev. R. Martin Pope.

The *Quarterly Review* for April-June has an eloquent and delightful paper by Colonel Wood, of Quebec, on *The River St. Lawrence*, dwelling on its picturesqueness, the natural history of the region, the great Laurentian lakes, &c. 'This river of Canada,' says the writer, 'will some time give birth to the genius who will reveal its soul, and its people will then divine its presences of Nature, see the visions of its everlasting hills, and be themselves regenerate in the consecration and the dream of it for ever.' Prof. Herford writes on *The Elizabethan Age in Recent Literature*, and Mr. J. C. Bailey on *Thackeray and the English Novel*. The latter gives a complete review of Thackeray's works, and while pointing out his limitations as a novelist, indicates his position with respect to previous and subsequent romancers. 'Thackeray found the novel divided between the historical romance of Scott and the exquisite parlour miniatures of Miss Austen. What he did with it was to give it the modernism which was not in Scott and the scale and range that was not in Jane Austen.' Presently, however, people demanded something like a philosophy of the meaning of things, and so turned to such writers as George Eliot and George Meredith. In them and in the Brontës and in Hardy, they found the philosophy, the poetry, the nature-worship they missed in Thackeray, and that since the vogue of Wordsworth they had craved. There is also an elaborate review of Newman's *Life*.

The closing number of the *Edinburgh Review* under the old editorship (April-June) is excellent throughout. The article on *Laughter* surveys the literature of the subject from Aristotle to Bergson. There is also a good literary paper on *The Poetics of Aristotle*, and several articles on economic and political questions marked by the moderation of this still living and powerful organ of opinion. But the article that will be most widely read is probably the one on Newman, in which the writer reaches the conclusion that, 'although Newman was not a Modernist, but an exceedingly stiff conservative, he did introduce into the Roman Church a very dangerous and essentially alien habit of thought, which has since developed into Modernism.' That is the reason, the writer thinks, why Newman's writings have always made Catholics uneasy, though they hardly know why. The reason is that 'One side of his religion was based on principles which, when logically drawn out, must lead away from Catholicism in the direction of an individualistic religion of experience,

and a substitution of history for dogma which makes all truth relative and all values fluid.' His character was perhaps 'more admirable than lovable. He was more apt to make disciples than friends. Yet he was loved and honoured by men whose love is an honour, and he is admired by all who can appreciate a consistently unworldly life.' In another connexion it is said that 'Something in the composition of his mind prevented him from being either a complete Catholic or a complete Protestant. He has left an indelible mark upon two great religious bodies. He has stirred movements which still agitate the Church of England and the Church of Rome, and the end of which is not yet in sight. Anglo-Catholicism and Modernism are alien growths, perhaps, in the institutions where they have found a place; but the man who beyond all others is responsible for grafting them upon the old stems is secure of his place in history.'

The Dublin Review (April-June) contains an article by the editor, Mr. Wilfrid Ward, on *Newman's Sensitiveness*, which is evidently a supplement to the writer's *Life of the Cardinal*. It is a defence of his frankness as a biographer, in the course of which he acknowledges the fairness and considerateness of his critics and dwells upon the difficulty of painting a portrait without effacing the warts. There is also an excellent, though rather belated, article on Lafcadio Hearn, and another posthumous poem by Francis Thompson, entitled *Holy Ground*.

The Nineteenth Century for May has an interesting article by Bishop Welldon on *The Theology of Milton*, in which much of the prose and poetry of the great Puritan writer is passed under review. The development of Milton's heterodoxy is carefully traced, and a useful epitome of his divinity is given. Between the *Paradise Lost* and the *Paradise Regained*, the bishop notes that 'the difference is that in the one Jesus Christ is regarded more as a transcendent Being who condescended to assume human nature, and in the other more as a human being exalted by a sublime and unique personal virtue to a special assimilation with the Godhead.'

There is a striking and valuable article in the May Contemporary by Mr. T. C. Taylor, M.P., in which he gives the result of thirty years' study and twenty years' practice of Industrial Co-partnership. The writer, who is an active partner in the well-known firm of woollen manufacturers at Batley, Yorkshire, has a good deal to say on Profit-sharing, as well as on the fuller system of Co-partnership. Both systems are based on the theory that profit is the joint product of capital and labour. Of his own scheme, Mr. Taylor says: 'The first claim of labour (in which I include all forms of human exertion) is met during the year by the payment of salaries and wages. Next comes the first claim of capital to five per cent. interest as a first charge upon any profits shown in the balance-sheet at the end of the year. If there are no profits capital gets nothing. If, after paying five per cent. interest on all shares (the majority of which are now owned by our employes), a divisible balance remains, it is apportioned between capital and the total amount paid during the year for

labour according to their respective amounts—that is, at the same rate per cent. . . . It is often asked: What about losses? I can speak from experience. In 1897 and 1898 we had no dividend, and I have yet to hear the first word of reproach or mistrust from any of my co-partners. . . . In twenty years the number of our workers has increased from 600 to 1400, and we have apportioned as the workers' share nearly £100,000. The system has been a benefit to all concerned.' The article should be read by all who are anxious to find *the* way out of the Industrial Unrest.

The subject of Co-partnership is also treated in the *National Review* for May by Viscount Wolmer. In this system, he says, 'Profit becomes a mutual bond instead of a source of quarrel. The workman knows that he will automatically get his fair share of the profits, and that his wages depend on the success of the business. He is given an opportunity of appreciating the difficulties that face the directors, he realizes the risks that the shareholders incur; the directors and shareholders in turn are made to understand the features of the employment that are objectionable to the men and are brought to attempt to remove them. This mutual sympathy and confidence, if re-established, would be of far more value to the nation than the mere increase of trade that would result. The life of the nation itself is concerned, and it . . . has a right to ask masters and men to abandon the idea that only their private interests are at issue, and to consider whether there is not a *modus vivendi*, with considerable profit to themselves and incalculable benefit to the State, that is open for them to adopt.' In the same number, Mr. Austin Dobson tells the story of Gray's biographer, Mason, whose *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Gray* formed the model of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. Curiously enough, Johnson disliked both Gray and Mason, and could not bear Mason's biography of Gray, and yet, by some freak of circumstances, that was adopted as the pattern on which Boswell formed what Macaulay called 'the first of all biographies.' 'I have resolved,' says Boswell in his introduction, 'to adopt and enlarge upon the excellent plan of Mr. Mason in his *Memoirs of Gray*'—that is, to intersperse the *Life* with letters and conversations which reveal the man. 'Thus,' says Mr. Dobson, 'the book that Johnson found "mighty dull" supplied the proximate pattern for Boswell's own imperishable performance; and, as Horace Walpole was not slow to perceive, marked the starting-point of a new departure in literary portraiture.' Mason, it appears, was Rector of Aston and Precentor of St. Peter's, York, and, though now forgotten, was a person of importance in his day, and Mr. Dobson's notice of him is touched with piquancy and charm.

In the *English Review* for May Mr. Frederic Harrison brings to a close his series of fascinating rambles *Among my Books* with some fine observations on general literature. To him the great books of the world are ever new. 'I take up again my Plato, my Shakespeare, my Gibbon, my Scott—and I say, How did I miss that, why did I forget that, did I really never read this before?' He takes the *Vicar of Wakefield* to be 'the high-water

mark of English.' Cowper's *Letters* are 'the purest and most beautiful letters in English—I had almost said in all modern literature.' Of Madame de Sévigné he says: 'A woman of beautiful nature, with a rare gift of subtle observation and unfailing literary charm, for twenty years studied and described a society of strange pride, elegance, culture, and vice. And in the midst of this Comus rout of extravagant debauchery Marie de Rabutin-Chantal remains a sweet, pure, affectionate woman, devoted to her rather ordinary daughter, and passing just judgements on the manners of a brilliant age.' And of Thackeray, to make only one more selection from this charming miscellany, he writes: 'I remember how a famous Oxford Don, seeing on my library table the big illustrated *Works of Thackeray*, in twenty-eight volumes, large octavo, wondered how a serious person could commit the extravagance of purchasing such trifles. I suppose there are no books on my shelves which I take down with more pleasure and more often. Why, Thackeray was even with his pencil a consummate caricaturist, a real ballad singer, and a writer of absolutely perfect English in every form in which our tongue can be used—whether gay, or pathetic, or sardonic, or eloquent. One who desires to write pure English has to know Thackeray from end to end.' In the same number there is a noteworthy study of Browning by Mr. Darrell Figgis.

In the *Cornhill* for May there is a timely article by Mr. A. C. Benson on *Realism in Fiction*, in the course of which he observes that 'in real life people do not and cannot say what they mean; the emotion is so infinitely larger a thing than any possible expression of it; what can be momentarily felt might take an hour to describe, and yet the essence of the thought is the simultaneous blending of strains felt but not consciously or rationally expressed, which if analysed lose their quality, as the spectrum loses the quality and effect of the total ray. Emotion is a thing which communicates itself quite independently of speech—by glance, by gesture, and by actual fusion of vital currents too swift for the brain to formulate them. The melodramatist, the romancer, is condemned to try to express these emotions literally, to make people say what they leave unsaid, to put into clumsy, overt words what really lies hid as a glowing and flashing thought.'

The *International Review of Missions* (April).—There is much here that every student of missions needs to know. The Rev. J. H. Maclean writes on *Unity and Co-operation in the Indian Mission Field*. He sees that union is impossible at present, but pleads for federation on the basis of mutual recognition. An interesting account is given of *The Preparation of Missionaries in Holland*. The course lasts six years. The medical training is excellent, but more attention needs to be given to tropical pathology.

The *Moslem World* (February).—Dr. Ewing has a temperate and judicious little paper on *The Proposed Moslem University for India*. He is disposed to welcome everything that promotes the spread of sound education in Islam. The Rev. J. L. Macintyre has a valuable article on *Islam in Northern Nigeria*. It is said sometimes that the rulers of the country do not want the missionaries, but Mr. Macintyre states that for some years they have been resident inside four of the walled towns, and

there has never been any trouble in any of those places. Why, he asks, should Northern Nigeria be deprived of the knowledge of that religion which has done so much for Africans?

AMERICAN

Bibliotheca Sacra.—The April number opens with a *Tribute to Charles Marsh Mead* by several of his friends. In 1865 he was appointed to the chair of Hebrew at Andover, where Dr. Thayer was the Professor of Greek Exegesis. Prof. Mead's 'greatest service to his generation was his work upon the American Revision of the Old Testament.' Dr. E. P. Gardner writes on a well-worn theme, *Christ in the Four Gospels*. He makes a helpful generalization, if it be not pressed too far: 'The Gospels separate into couplets in which one is the complement of the other. Matthew gives us sovereignty, and Mark service; Luke the revelation of ideal humanity, and John the revelation of God.' In an outspoken article on *Catholicism and Americanism*, Mr. Austin Bierbower, of Chicago—a layman—says that 'no power, perhaps, so tends to modify American institutions and adversely affect the world's progress as the Roman Catholic Church.' He can see no possibility of reconciling American aims with 'inequality,' the idea which 'underlies the whole political and intellectual policy' of Roman Catholicism. Mr. Harold M. Wiener contributes a second paper on *Some Aspects of the Conservative Task in Pentateuchal Criticism*. Other articles are on *The Divorce Problem* and *The Testimony of Josephus concerning Jesus*.

Harvard Theological Review (April).—Prof. Tufts of Chicago, joint author with Dr. Dewey of a standard Handbook on *Ethics*, contributes a thoughtful paper on *Recent Discussions of Moral Evolution*. He finds four reasons for hoping that our present civilization will prove adequate to future crises. In the first place, there is a 'growing opposition to war, both for economic and for moral reasons.' Secondly, moral consciousness is increasing in strength, because of 'the greater area of common discussion and common criticism.' Thirdly, 'the broader basis, within each community, which supports moral values.' In the fourth place, 'the larger resources which intelligence now commands.' Dr. G. F. Moore writes most instructively on *Zoroastrianism*, not only outlining its fundamental ideas as set forth in the Gathas, but also describing the religion as it appears in the Sassanian Avesta and in later Pahlavi writings. Last year two biographies of *Martin Luther* were published in America, their respective authors being Dr. McGiffert and Dr. Preserved Smith. They form the subject of two articles, in one of which we are reminded that the four-hundredth anniversary of the Reformation will be celebrated in 1917. *The Mysticism of Maeterlinck* is discussed with sympathy and discrimination by Rev. Paul R. Frothingham of Boston. His conclusion is that 'Maeterlinck is a mystic, but a mystic who does not arrive. . . . When we come to the end of what he has to say, we see before us a question mark. . . . But we may well believe that not yet has this thinker given us his full or final word. It is much to be hoped that it is with him, as

with the fine patrician house in Bruges which bears, he has told us, on beams and pediment the suggestive device: "Within me there is more."

American Journal of Theology (April).—The first two articles in this number deal with the curriculum in theological colleges. The first, by Prof. Shailer Mathews, dwells on *Vocational Efficiency*, by which is meant that the student in a theological college ought to be trained primarily so as to make him an effective leader of a Church in spiritual life and social service. A 'vocational curriculum,' recently adopted in the University of Chicago, is appended. Prof. E. D. Burton has many good things to say concerning the place of the New Testament in such a theological course. But we are sorry to see that he, like so many of his contemporaries, is preparing for 'the disappearance of exegetical study on the basis of the Greek from the list of prescribed studies.' Hebrew has almost gone, and if Greek Testament disappears also, can it be said that the Christian priest understands his own sacred books? Prof. C. A. Briggs' article on the Christ of the Church is refreshingly orthodox, without being narrow or obscurantist. What is '*The Distinguishing Mark of a Christian?*' A Babel of answers would greet the announcement of that question. The answer here given by Prof. G. A. Coe is, 'The essence of the Christian character is the faith that counts oneself as dead to everything except the Family of God and the means for realizing its life in fullness and power.' The term 'family' obviously needs definition, and some may be surprised to read the one given by Dr. Coe. 'The Father and Jesus and we are all one Family, living our life in one another.' On the whole, we prefer the phraseology of the New Testament.

The Methodist Review (New York) (May-June).—This number includes a portrait and very attractive sketch of Bishop Spellmeyer. The writer of an article on reconstruction of theology among laymen leads to the position that creeds, dogmas, and ecclesiastical traditions are 'hollow and useless,' Calvinism and Arminianism are 'trifling matters,' Unitarianism and Trinitarianism 'mere word quibbles.' When the Christian Church at large thinks thus, we shall see what we shall see. Another article contrasts 'Methodist wine-skins' with the character of the wine they contain, and the writer evidently holds that there is no danger lest the generous, expanding spiritual life of our time should burst the skins of organization; the question is whether there is life enough to fill those that exist. The style of the article is peculiar. For instance, we read, 'Summing up: have our false consistency, our opiate momentum, our selfish power got us along with the King's business as fast as our fathers marched?' But, mixed metaphors or no, the writer has hold of a truth well expressed in another article in the same number by Mr. C. S. Ball, who dates from this side of the Atlantic, and says that the founders of Methodism 'built their furnace at the call of the fire and never dreamed of a fire at the call of a furnace.' We observe an appreciative review by the Editor of Dr. Davison's recent volume on *The Indwelling Spirit*.

The Methodist Review (Nashville) (April).—Articles on Eucken just now

are as plentiful as blackberries in autumn. An intelligent and discriminating appreciation is here furnished by Dr. J. C. Granbery, who has evidently made a close study of Eucken's religious philosophy. *Wesley's Relation to Theological Standards* is expanded by Chancellor Burwash in a thoughtful, sane, and evangelical fashion. The gist of his contention is that Methodists now, like Wesley at the beginning, should be faithful to the gospel message, but should not favour 'needless expansion of creeds,' or 'metaphysical refinements of theological speculation.' Bishop Hendrix writes on *The World's Dream of Peace*, discussing the present status and the future of international arbitration. Other interesting articles are, *The Lordship of Jesus Christ*, by President Mullins; *The Agamemnon of Aeschylus*, by Prof. C. F. Smith, and *The Meaning of China's Awakening*, by William T. Ellis.

The Review and Expositor (Louisville) (April).—The chief articles are: *The Life and Work of William H. Whitsitt*, by Prof. Pollard; *A Study of History*, by Rev. G. Bladon; *The Heart of Sin*, by Rev. W. E. Henry; *Recent Commentaries on Genesis*, by Prof. Sampey; *The Real World*, by Prof. Robins; and *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament*, by President Mullins.

FOREIGN

Religion und Geisteskultur.—The first article in the April number is by Dr. W. Ernst; his theme is *The Question of Miracles*. Conceding the rights of criticism in estimating the trustworthiness of narratives of miracles, he contends that the mainspring of religion is faith in the living God; this implies that the possibilities of His working are not to be arbitrarily limited by questionable scientific or philosophic views of the world. He points out that frequently a transition is surreptitiously made from the thought of the uniformity of Nature's laws to the very different conception of mechanical causality. A machine is not produced by mechanical necessity; an engineer makes certain combinations dependent on obedience to the laws of causality; but they may not be the only possible combinations. Christian faith regards every event as the work of God, and ascribes every miracle to the divine activity. The engineer cannot be charged with breaking the laws of nature; with as little right can the Christian doctrine of miracles be said to imply a violation of causality. It is too often forgotten that science and religion have different conceptions of causation. Hence the question of miracles is a test question, and our solution of the problem presented by the miraculous element in Christianity shows whether we are stubborn determinists or theists, naturalistic monists or Christians. Dr. Lukas Victor writes with freshness and force on an old, but by no means antiquated subject, *Religion and Culture*. Religion itself is imperilled when it is isolated from culture. Religion aims at developing human personality in communion with God. That is to say, it strives after personal culture in the truest sense of the word. Culture is necessary to prevent religion from becoming a world-despising mysticism, 'an internal fire, giving out neither light nor warmth.' Religion is necessary to save

culture from resting content with any external good, and to make the highest good of the personality the ultimate test of value.

Theologische Rundschau.—Dr. Hermann Cremer, the author of the well-known *Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek*, died in 1903. His life has been written by his son, Pfarrer Ernst Cremer, who was for seven years a professor in Marburg University. A review of the biography by Dr. Johannes Wendland appears in the April number of the *Rundschau*. Full justice is done to the commanding personality and strong convictions of Cremer; at Greifswald not only did he exert a powerful influence upon the students, but he also founded the Greifswald school. His religious temperament is described as 'melancholy.' He is said to have shared the anxiety of Luther to be assured that the grace of God, in which he firmly believed, availed for him personally. Intellectual doubts did not disturb his peace of mind, but he distinguished between knowledge and faith, arguing that a man might know that God forgives sins, without believing that God is gracious to him individually. In Cremer's theology justification, or the forgiveness of sins, is the centre. In this respect he is in agreement with Ritschl; but 'for Cremer an abrupt and often repeated transition from sorrow for sin to the comfort of grace was the essence of Christian experience,' whilst Ritschl held that quiet growth is the normal Christian experience and laid especial stress on overcoming the world and on the formation of character. It is significant that Cremer's criticism of Harnack's *What is Christianity?* should be that 'sufficient prominence is not given to the paradox of the grace of God,' and that Harnack has too light an estimate of the forgiveness of sins. On this subject Cremer also differed from his teacher Beck. Justification was interpreted by Beck as making righteous, but Cremer emphasized the forensic conception. Wendland thinks that Cremer underestimated the importance of problems connected with the finding of a world-view; in this respect his friend Schlatter has done well to supplement his teaching.

From every candidate for ordination Cremer required that he should have a sense of his own sinfulness; he did not insist on an assurance of salvation, holding that experience of grace would certainly follow the consciousness of sin. He failed to realize that Protestant Christianity might comprise many types of piety. In controversy Cremer was a somewhat impassioned fighter; he was confident that right was on his side, and Wendland thinks that sometimes he did not discriminate between a fight for the gospel and a fight for his party. The critic is clearly an adherent of a different party, but although complaint is made of Cremer's narrow horizon, it is acknowledged that his was an impressive personality, that he was a conscientious Christian and as a theologian did much good, if some harm, to the Church he served long and faithfully. In a review of the literature that has gathered round the Jesus-myth theory, Windisch makes the far-reaching statement that the foundation mistake made by its advocates consists in accepting and combining mythological stories, whether probable or improbable, and in a surface and insufficient criticism of the actual sources of the history of Jesus.

Theologische Literaturzeitung.—In No. 7, Dr. Skinner's *Genesis* is favourably reviewed by Dr. Hugo Gressmann. The commentary is praised for its moderate and judicial tone. Dr. Skinner neither exaggerates the value of the LXX—as Gressmann thinks Dr. H. M. Wiener does—nor puts implicit trust in the Massoretic text. 'Just because Skinner always prefers the golden mean, his Commentary is especially adapted for students.' In the same number, a scholar who signs himself Beckwith, New York, accords well-merited praise to Prof. H. Wheeler Robinson's *The Christian Doctrine of Man*. The book is said to be characterized by competent learning, a clear and attractive style, and impartiality in the discussion of controversial questions. 'The interest is maintained to the end, and the work, even though it may not be final, perhaps reaches the high-water mark of present-day thought concerning the Christian doctrine of man.' In No. 9 the third volume of Dr. Caspar René Gregory's great work on *The Textual Criticism of the New Testament* is reviewed by Dr. Bousset, who quotes a paragraph from the 'Introduction' which shows that Gregory is still a disciple of the great English textual critics, Westcott and Hort. Dr. R. A. Hoffman finds in the volume edited by Dr. Sanday and entitled *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, evidence that English scholars are busily engaged with the 'Logia' problem, but he commends to their more earnest attention the 'Ur Marcus' question.

The Revue des Deux Mondes for May 15 has an elaborate appreciation of John Galsworthy by André Chevrillon, in which the English playwright and romancer is placed first amongst the new thinkers by the art with which he deals with Hunger, Love, and Death. In an interesting comparison between Galsworthy and Meredith, it is stated that you cannot read the former without being reminded of the latter; not only are the objects of his art similar, and some of his methods, but much of his general philosophy. In both there is the same criticism of pharisaic England, the same hatred of masculine egotism and the tyrannies it imposes on woman, the same fundamental idealism. Galsworthy, in short, is a Meredith tempered and corrected by Turgenev, a Meredith more systematic and more conscious of his art. He is also compared with Mr. Henry James, and all his plays and novels are reviewed.

The Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques (April–June) has learned and luminous articles on *The Moral Sanction in the Philosophy of Saint Thomas*, on *Le Magistère Ecclésiastique Source et Règle de la Théologie*, and on *P. Noël Alexandre, Jacobin, Gallican, et 'Appelan.'* The *Bulletin de Philosophie* contains several careful reviews of recent works in religious psychology, and especially of M. Jules Pacheu's very valuable study of *L'expérience mystique et l'activité subconsciente*. There are also several extended notices of recent French books on Hypnotism and Spiritism, notable amongst them being Prof. Flournoy's *Esprits et médiums*, and Dr. W. C. de Sermyn's *Contribution à l'étude de certaines facultés cérébrales méconnues*.